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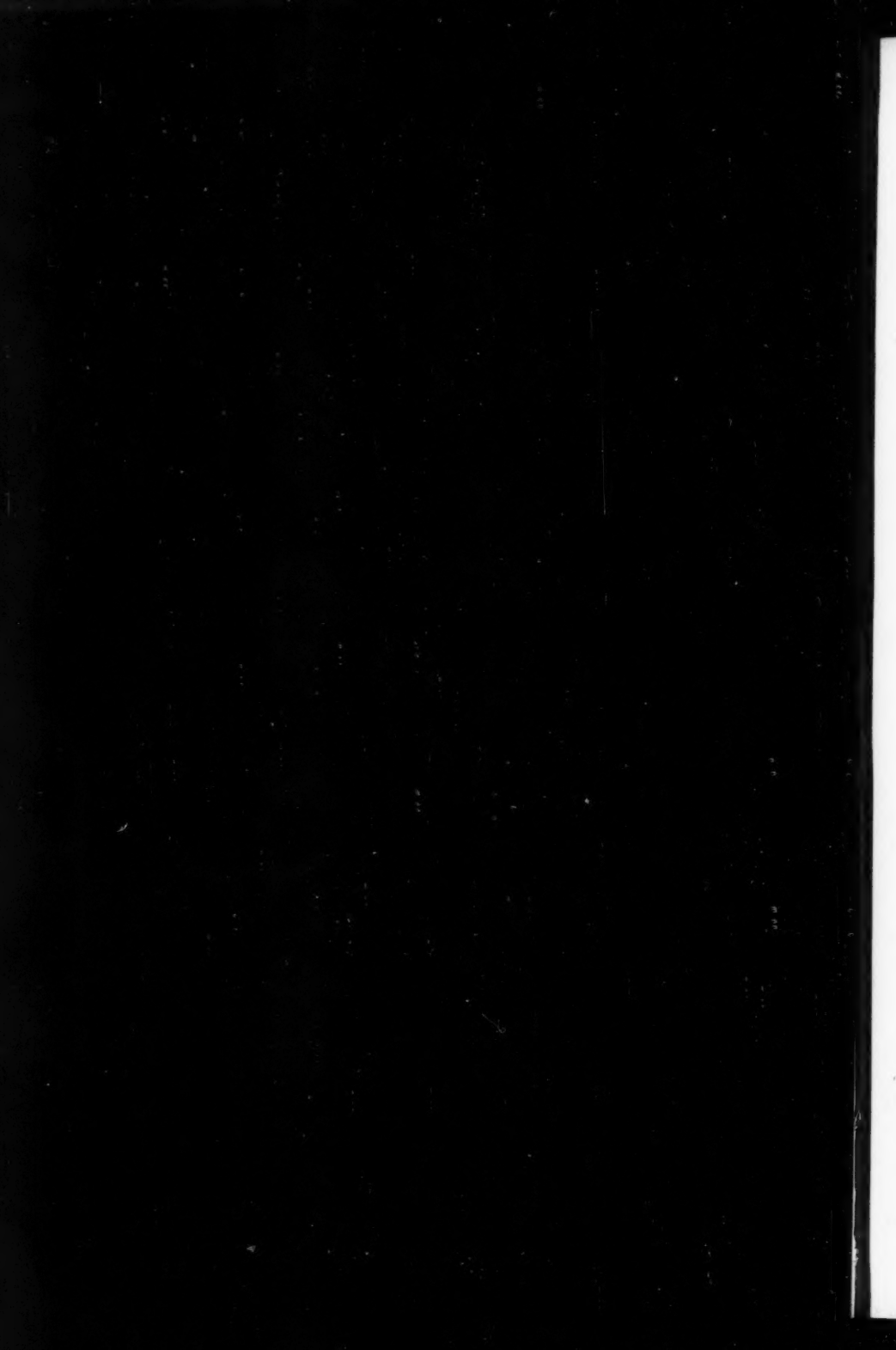
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY 1893.

ART. I.—BISHOP LIGHTFOOT AND THE
EARLY ROMAN SEE.

1. *The Apostolic Fathers.* Part I.—S. Clement of Rome. A Revised Text with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations. By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Bishop of Durham. Two volumes. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.
2. *The Apostolic Fathers.* Part II.—S. Ignatius. S. Polycarp. Three volumes. Second Edition. 1889.
3. *Essays on the Work entitled Supernatural Religion.* Reprinted from *The Contemporary Review.* 1889.
4. *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age.* Reprinted from Editions of St. Paul's Epistles. 1892.

THE reader of the following pages must not look for any general account or criticism of the massive volumes named at the head of this article, which have been styled by Bishop Lightfoot's fellow-worker for many years, and successor at Durham, "a monument of learning, sagacity, and judgment, unsurpassed in the present age."*

The object in view is something much less ambitious. We are all familiar with works in which the historical evidence for the Primacy of St. Peter and the Roman See is marshalled

* Bishop Westcott's Prefatory Note to S. Clement.
[No. 7 of Fourth Series.]

with a cogency that appears to us irresistible, and nowhere more forcibly than in the luminous treatise *De Ecclesia* which forms the third volume of Dr. Schanz's *Apology*; and we are apt to wonder how it is that the evidence does not appeal to fair-minded Protestants with the like force. Now Bishop Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers* gives evidence, to use Bishop Westcott's words, of "an exhaustive study of the chief records of the history of the Roman Church to the third century;" his learning, his thoroughness, and his robust common sense are admitted on all hands, his honesty of purpose and fair-mindedness are transparent. It must then be instructive and in many ways useful for us to know precisely the impression made upon a mind of this calibre by the body of evidence which seems to us so satisfactory.

There is another reason why it is well that we should study in Bishop Lightfoot's pages the question of the Early Roman See. For the past half-century and more there has existed in Germany a rationalistic school which has busied itself above all with early Christian documents and history. It need hardly be said that Bishop Lightfoot had little sympathy with the "feverish and restless criticism" of this school; yet he recognises the fact that in various ways the interests of Truth have been served by the attack. "All diligent students of early Christian history," he says, "must have derived the greatest advantage on special points from the conscientious research, and frequently also from the acute analysis, even of writers of the most extreme school;"* and elsewhere: "The destructive criticism of the last half-century is, I think, fast spending its force. In its excessive ambition it has o'erleapt itself. It has not, indeed, been without its use. It has led to a thorough examination and sifting of ancient documents. It has exploded not a few errors and discovered or established not a few truths."†

In this way it has come to pass that some of the old Protestant strongholds have been rendered untenable. The German critics were for the most part hostile, or at least indifferent to Christianity itself, and were unencumbered by doctrinal proclivities and so were able to express an unbiassed

* "Essays on Supernatural Religion," p. 141.

† "Ign. and Polyc.," i. pref. xv.

verdict on various points debated between the Church and the Sects during the past three hundred years. Now Bishop Lightfoot was thoroughly conversant with the methods and writings of this school; we shall therefore be able from his works to gauge how far the controversial position of Anglicans towards the Church in regard to the particular claims of the Roman See has been modified for them by the results of recent research.

The purpose then of these pages is to bring together and codify the views on the Early Roman See to be found scattered throughout Bishop Lightfoot's works, and thus to show precisely to what points of difference the question has in his opinion been narrowed.

There is a certain pathos in this investigation; for the subject is the last one that engaged the veteran scholar's attention, and the last words he ever wrote, only three days before his death, form part of an imperfect sentence in a fragment of an essay on *Saint Peter in Rome*. So far as it goes this fragmentary essay will be of first importance in the inquiry before us; but it has to be supplemented from many parts of his works.

To begin then with those points in which Bishop Lightfoot most nearly agrees with Catholic writers.

I. On turning to the essay on *Saint Peter in Rome* we find that it opens with the recognition of a primacy in St. Peter; and on proceeding further we find that arguments often brought forward against it appear to the author no longer tenable.

Even a cursory glance [he says] at the history of the Apostles, so far as it appears in the Gospel records, reveals a certain primacy of St. Peter among the twelve. He holds the first place in all the lists; he has a precedence of responsibility and of temptation; he sets the example of moral courage and of moral lapse. Above all he receives special pastoral charges.*

Our author bases this proposition on the usual Petrine texts; but Matthew xvi. 18, "Thou art Cephas and upon this rock will I build My Church," is the only one he discusses at any length. He points out that some few Fathers interpret the rock of Christ Himself; but the vast majority understand

* "Clem. Rom.," ii. 481.

it of St. Peter, in some sense. That the rock is St. Peter and not our Lord seems to the author certain. He puts the case thus :

An essential difference lies at the root of the two explanations. We are fain to ask, Is Christ the rock, or is Peter the rock, on which the Church is built (however we may explain the latter alternative)? Now there are two arguments which mainly weigh with those who explain the rock of Christ, (1) the one from the etymology, (2) the other from the imagery.

He goes on to show that neither of these arguments is valid, and that therefore "our only guide is the logical connection of the passage. But here there can be little doubt that the sense points not to Christ the speaker, but to Peter the person addressed, as the rock."*

The question still remains open in what sense St. Peter was the rock. To this we shall have to return when discussing points of difference. But in the midst of all explanations and refinings the fact stands out regarding St. Peter's position—"But still it is a primacy, a pre-eminence."†

II. Bishop Lightfoot next discusses the Roman visit of St. Peter. His judgment on this point is thus summed up :

Reasons exist—to my mind conclusive reasons—for postulating a visit of St. Peter to Rome on which occasion he suffered martyrdom there. If these reasons are not each singly decisive, the combination yields a body of proof, which it is difficult to resist.‡

III. The discoveries and researches of recent years have made it necessary for all who wish to keep abreast of the advance of historical science, to withdraw to a great extent from the old Protestant position regarding the Church of Rome at the close of the first century. The Roman Church of A.D. 95 appears to Bishop Lightfoot as "the most prominent Church of Christendom," and "the most important Church in Christendom."§ And after commenting on the fact that in St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians his own name does not occur, Dr. Lightfoot says :

This being so, it is the more instructive to observe the urgent and almost imperious tone which the Romans adopt in addressing their

* "Clem. Rom.," ii. 485, 486.

‡ *Ibid.* ii. 491.

† *Ibid.* ii. 487.

§ *Ibid.* i. 58, 61.

Corinthian brethren during the closing years of the first century. . . . It may perhaps seem strange to describe this noble remonstrance as the first step towards papal domination, and yet undoubtedly this is the case.*

And elsewhere :

It is strenuous, even peremptory, in the authoritative tone it assumes.†

St. Ignatius's letter to the Romans was in Bishop Lightfoot's opinion written some fifteen years after that of St. Clement to the Corinthians—i.e., about A.D. 110. In his comment on the Inscription we think we notice a certain wavering ; but the final conclusion seems to be that in it St. Ignatius assigns "a pre-eminence of rank," "a primacy," to the Roman Church. The various passages will be found in the note below.‡ As for the *potentior principalitas* of St. Irenæus, Bishop Lightfoot is quite clear that it points, even more strongly than St. Ignatius' words, to "a certain precedence" of the Church of Rome over the other churches of Christendom.§

* "Clem. Rom.," i. 69, 70.

† "Ign. and Polyc.," i. 398.

‡ St. Ignatius addresses the Roman Church as the one which "προκαθῆται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων"—"hath the presidency in the country of the region of the Romans." In the note on this passage Bishop Lightfoot points out that the words allow of a twofold interpretation : they may describe (1) "the limits over which the supremacy or jurisdiction extends," and so would only mean that the Church of Rome was the principal church in the district about Rome ; or (2) "not the range of the supremacy, but the locality of the supreme power itself," and in this case the expression would assign a certain precedence to the Church of Rome over the other churches of Christendom ("Ign. and Polyc.," ii. 190, 191). The author on the whole declares in favour of the first interpretation, and we think the reasons he brings forward perhaps entitle him to do so ; and we notice that Dr. Schanz does not appeal to this text. Zahn, however, is quite clear that "regionibus omnibus, quæ sub Romanorum erant ditionem, ecclesia Romana quodammodo præsidere dicitur" ("Patr. Apost. Op. ed. Gebhardt-Harnack-Zahn," Fasc. ii. 57). Harnack is still stronger : "However much we may abate all extravagant expressions in his Letter to the Romans, so much is evident, that Ignatius marked out the Roman community as the President among the sister communities, and that an energetic activity of this community in supporting and instructing the other communities was familiar to him." ("Dogmengeschichte," i. 404.) And it is instructive to find that after all Bishop Lightfoot cannot divest himself of the feeling that this is the sense of the words, for on the next page, commenting on the similar expression—"προκαθήμενῇ τῇς ἀγάπης," he refers back, saying, "The Church of Rome, as it is first in rank, is first also in love." Elsewhere he says the passage "assigns to this Church a pre-eminence of rank as well as of love" ("Ign. and Polyc.," i. 398), and in yet another place he says, without any limitation, that in it St. Ignatius "assigns a primacy to Rome" ("Clem. Rom.," i. 71). There can, therefore, be little question as to Bishop Lightfoot's predominant feeling about the meaning of the words, or the interpretation to which he finally gravitated.

§ "Ign. and Polyc.," ii. 191.

It is worthy of note that Bishop Lightfoot attaches no ordinary importance to St. Irenæus as a witness of Christian belief in the second century. He taxes the author of *Supernatural Religion* with regarding the "testimony of Irenæus as the isolated opinion of an individual writer," and of being "unconscious of the historical background which it implies." "He was connected directly with the Apostles and the Apostolic age by two distinct personal links, if not more." "His testimony must be regarded as directly representing three churches at least"—Asia Minor, Rome, and Gaul. Thus "he is backed by a whole phalanx of past and contemporaneous authority."*

About A.D. 190 Victor became Bishop of Rome. In Bishop Lightfoot's eyes he was the first Pope. He writes:

There is all the difference in the world between the attitude of Rome towards other churches at the close of the first century, when the Romans as a community remonstrate on terms of equality [[?] cf. "urgent and almost imperious tone," "strenuous even peremptory," "authoritative tone," above] with the Corinthians on their irregularities, strong only in the righteousness of their cause, and feeling, as they had a right to feel, that these counsels of peace were the dictation of the Holy Spirit, and its attitude at the close of the second century, when Victor the bishop excommunicates the churches of Asia Minor for clinging to a usage in regard to the celebration of Easter which had been handed down to them from the Apostles, and thus foments instead of healing dissensions. Even this second stage has carried the power of Rome only a very small step in advance towards the assumptions of a Hildebrand or an Innocent or a Boniface, or even of a Leo; but it is nevertheless a decided step.†

And more strongly elsewhere: Victor was

the first who advanced those claims to universal dominion which his successors in later ages have always consistently and often successfully maintained. . . . At the end of the first century the Roman Church was swayed by the mild and peaceful counsels of the presbyter-bishop Clement; the close of the second witnessed the autocratic pretensions of the haughty Pope Victor, the prototype of a Hildebrand or an Innocent.‡

* "Essays on Supernatural Religion," 264-268.

† "Clem. Rom.," i. 70.

‡ "Dissertations," 186. Bishop Lightfoot's remarks on Pope Victor naturally suggest to the historical mind thoughts which we shall put in Harnack's words: "How could Victor have ventured on issuing such an edict (powerless though he was to enforce it universally) if it were not established and recognised that to fix the conditions of the common unity in decisive questions of faith belonged chiefly to the Roman Church? How could Victor have made such an unheard-of demand on autonomous communities, if he as Roman

In the course of another half-century (A.D. 250), these "pretensions" had made such way that Rome was now "the most powerful Church in Christendom."* At this time a collision occurred on the question of re-baptism between St. Cyprian and the Pope; we give, without comment, Bishop Lightfoot's presentment of the episode:

Stephen, inheriting the haughty temper and aggressive policy of his earlier predecessor Victor, excommunicated those who differed from the Roman usage in this matter. These arrogant assumptions were directly met by Cyprian. He summoned first one and then another synod of African bishops, who declared in his favour. He had on his side also the Churches of Asia Minor, which had been included in Stephen's edict of excommunication. Thus the bolt hurled by Stephen fell innocuous, and the Churches of Africa and Asia retained their practice.

Here was a combination calculated to reduce the Roman bishops to their proper level—a combination having at its head all the enormous personal influence of St. Cyprian, "the first prelate whose force of character vibrated throughout the whole of Christendom." And what was the sequel? "At a later period indeed Rome carried the victory";† her episcopate continued "the most renowned and powerful in the world."‡

Our investigation so far has revealed the fact that three points regarding the early Roman See appear to Bishop Lightfoot to be clear:—

(1) That a primacy among the Apostles was conferred by our Lord on St. Peter.

(2) That St. Peter visited Rome and was martyred there.

(3) That at the end of the first century the Roman Church held a primacy over all other churches—a primacy which ever grew and developed as the ages ran on.

The importance of the recognition of these propositions by a scholar of the author's calibre—"sobrii iudicii vir ac doctrina exquisita pollens" (Zahn)—can hardly be over-estimated. As compared with the past, they are the high-water mark in this direction of safe Church of England opinion; but the fact must not be overlooked that this point once reached by such a critic,

bishop were not recognised as in a special sense the guardian of that common unity?" (*Dogmengeschichte*, i. 408.)

* "Dissertations," 206.

† *Ibid.* 205, 207.

‡ "Clem. Rom.," i. 98.

is not unlikely to become the low-water mark at no distant date.

We have seen that Bishop Lightfoot does accept a primacy in St. Peter, his personal connection with the Roman Church, and the recognised pre-eminence of that Church at the close of the first century. These are unquestionably approaches which naturally lead up to Catholic teaching. We must now turn our attention to those limitations which form a barrier to progress in that direction. These may be reduced to three heads, each attaching to one of the three points of agreement:—

(1) St. Peter's primacy was temporary, and ceased with the admission of the Gentiles into the Church.

(2) Though in Rome, St. Peter was never Bishop of Rome.

(3) The primacy of the Roman Church was not originally due to any primacy of her bishops, but to other causes; and the later primacy of the Bishop of Rome grew out of the early primacy of his Church.

It must needs be a great advantage to have a clear idea of the reasons which withheld Bishop Lightfoot from accepting the Catholic position when he had gone so far towards it; and also to see what case so learned and accomplished a scholar could make out against that position. Surely the cause will hardly find a better advocate. To preclude all chance of an unfair or inadequate presentment of Bishop Lightfoot's argument, we shall quote his words at some length, for it is proper that such a writer should be allowed to exhibit the whole strength of his case himself.

I. St. Peter's primacy was temporary, and ceased with the admission of the Gentiles into the Church.

In order to clear the way for the establishment of this theory, the text—"Thou art Cephas, &c."—which, as we have seen, conferred a primacy upon St. Peter, has first to be disposed of. Bishop Lightfoot observes that "patristic interpretations of the earliest and last ages are mainly twofold." The first is that the rock is Christ Himself. But this interpretation, as stated above, he rejects in favour of the one that "the rock is connected with St. Peter, being either his confession, or his faith, or some other moral or spiritual qualification, capable of being shared by others." He adds: "The most explicit declaration of it is found in the typical passage of

Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* [xvi. 13], tom. xii. § 10,"—"where nothing could be fuller or more explicit than the language."*

Here it is well to recall the point on which the discussion immediately turns—viz., on what the Church is built; and also, for the sake of clearness, to fix what we all understand by "The Church" here spoken of. It is something concrete and external. It is the body of faithful men that passes under the name of "the Church of Christ."

As the passage of Origen stands in Bishop Lightfoot's pages, there is nothing to suggest that Origen has in mind something different from this. But on turning to Origen himself, it appears that certain omissions, which are indeed indicated, quite alter the meaning of the passage, and, in fact, make it irrelevant to the present discussion.

The extract from Origen is long, but as the matter is of importance from more than one point of view, and the passage has done yeoman's service in controversy, it is necessary to tax the reader's patience so far. The parts omitted in Bishop Lightfoot are printed in italics.

But if we also, like Peter, say, "Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God," flesh and blood not having revealed it to us, but the Spirit from heaven having illumined our heart, we become a Peter, and it would be said to us by the Word, "Thou art Peter" and so forth. For every disciple of Christ is a rock, from whom all they that partake of the spiritual rock which follows did drink; and upon every such rock the whole doctrine of the Church, and the polity in accordance therewith is built;† *for the Church a-building by God is in each one of the perfect, having the assemblage of things that fill up the blessedness of words and deeds and thoughts.* But if thou supposest that the whole Church is built by God on that one Peter alone, what wouldst thou say concerning John the Son of Thunder, or any one of the Apostles? otherwise shall we dare to say that against Peter especially the gates of hell shall not prevail, but that they shall prevail against the remaining Apostles *and the perfect?* *Is not then what has been said before "The Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it" (applicable) to all and each one of them; and also the saying "On this rock I will build my church?"* Are then the keys of the Kingdom

* "Clem. Rom." ii. 482-484.

† ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς πᾶς λόγος καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτεία. We allow the translation given by Bishop Lightfoot to stand in the text, but we observe that it runs counter to the whole drift of Origen himself, and is certainly incorrect. Huet has much more nearly caught the meaning by his "omnis sermo ecclesiasticus et vitæ juxta ipsum institutæ ratio;"—"Every churchly thought or utterance, and a mode of life in accordance therewith." "Churchly," that is in the sense in which Origen goes on to explain this "church."

of Heaven given by the Lord to Peter alone, and shall none other of the blessed [Bishop Lightfoot's text has here "blessed Apostles;" "Apostles" is not in the Greek] receive them? But if that saying "I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven" is common to others also, surely what precedes and what is subjoined as having been said to Peter is (also common). For there the words seem to have been said as if to Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in Heaven," &c.* But in the gospel of John, the Saviour, when giving the Holy Spirit to the disciples by breathing on them, says, "Receive the Holy Ghost," &c. Many, therefore, shall say to the Saviour, "Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God," but not all who say this will say it to Him having learned it in no way through revelation by flesh and blood, but the Father Himself, who is in heaven, having removed the veil that lay upon their heart; in order that, after this, having gazed with face unveiled upon the glory of the Lord, they may say in the spirit of God, of Him: "The Lord Jesus;" and to Him: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." And if any one saith this to Him, flesh and blood not revealing it, but the Father which is in heaven, he shall obtain the promises [Greek: the things which have been said], as the letter of the gospel says, to that particular Peter, but as the spirit teaches, to every one who becomes like that Peter. For all become namesakes of the rock who are imitators of Christ, the spiritual rock following those who are being saved, that they may drink out of it the spiritual drink. These, like Christ, are called after the rock; furthermore being members of Christ, deriving their name from Him, they were called Christians; and (as members) of the rock, Peters. Starting from this, you will say that the just are called just from the justice of Christ, and the wise from the wisdom of Christ, and similarly you will make surnames for the saints after His other names. And to all such as this, the saying would be said by the Saviour, "Thou art Peter," and so forth, as far as "shall not prevail against it." What is "it?" Is it the rock on which Christ builds His church; or the Church itself, for the expression is ambiguous; or the rock and the Church, being one and the same thing?

Here Bishop Lightfoot stops; but it is proper to continue the quotation until Origen has worked out his thought and passed on to something else.

* The danger of making doctrinal deductions from Origen's interpretations when he is in a mystic mood is shown by a comparison of tom. xiii. in Matt. § 31, where he bases an argument for a great difference, πολλήν διαφορὰν καὶ ὑπεροχὴν, in regard to the power of the keys between St. Peter and τοὺς δευτέρους—which the context shows is everybody else—on the ground that these same words, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," apply to St. Peter alone, ἰδίᾳ. The passage in question also throws light on the notion of the Church built by God being in each of the perfect, and every such perfect one being a rock on which the Church is built; for in the same line of speculation he makes a limited power of the keys a possession of every Christian who thrice admonishes his brother but in vain, the fulness of power belonging to St. Peter alone.

*This, I think, hits off the truth; for the gates of hell shall neither prevail against the rock on which Christ builds the Church, nor against the Church; as is written in Proverbs, "the path of a snake over a rock cannot be found." But if the gates of hell shall prevail against any one, such an one would be neither a rock on which Christ builds the Church, nor (would he be) the Church a-building by Christ on the rock. For the rock is impassable for a snake, and it is stronger than the gates of hell striving against it; so that on account of its strength the gates of hell do not prevail against it; and the Church, as the building of Christ, who built His house wisely on the rock, does not admit of the gates of hell, which prevail against every man who is outside the rock and the Church, but have no power against it. Having observed that every one of the sins through which it is possible to go down to hell, is a gate of hell, we shall understand that the soul having spot or wrinkle or any thing of the sort, and which on account of its wickedness is neither holy nor blameless, is neither a rock on which Christ builds, nor a church, nor part of a church, which Christ builds on the rock.**

As it stands in Bishop Lightfoot's pages, the passage is, we admit, effective for his purpose; but on reading it in its entirety we soon perceive that the Church which Origen has in mind is not the congregation of the faithful, the Kingdom of God on earth, but that other Kingdom of God spoken of by our Lord when he said, "The Kingdom of God is within you." It is the reign of grace in the individual soul. With this clue the passage, however obscure it may seem at first sight, is clear enough; and although in the course of it Origen almost loses himself in the maze of his own metaphors, yet even through this he works round again to the idea from which he started.

The fact is, that the passage on which such stress has been laid, is wholly irrelevant in the controversy in which it is employed, and its use is a simple *ignoratio elenchi*.

Moreover, so far from being a "typical passage" from any point of view, we may well ask, can its fellow be found in the whole range of patristic literature; nay, so far as doctrinal considerations are involved, it is not typical even of Origen himself.†

* Origen, "Comm. in Matt.," tom. xii. §§ 10, 11, 12.

† We hasten to add that we are satisfied Bishop Lightfoot had nothing to do with its preparation in the form in which it appears in his pages. This part of his work was written just before his death, and he was unable to revise it; it is quite clear that in his draft he must have taken the passage directly from some controversial book ready at hand. In accordance with his usual mode of work, on revision he would have verified the passage, and doubtless would have seen how carefully Origen's real thought had been eliminated

We have dwelt on this stage of our inquiry, because the turn of Bishop Lightfoot's argument lies in this quotation; and the others, notably the one from St. Cyprian, are of no serious force, this one put aside.

Now to dismiss shortly the question of patristic interpretations of the Rock. Bishop Lightfoot goes on to say that with the exception of those few who understand it of Christ the Rock, St. Peter's confession, or faith, or firmness "is with some modification the universal interpretation of the Fathers for many centuries."* And unquestionably this interpretation is a common one from St. Hilary onwards. But we think a third interpretation should have been mentioned, which can hardly be regarded as a mere "modification," viz., that St. Peter himself is the rock. This is the earlier interpretation, being found currently in Origen, Tertullian and Cyprian; and it always continued the more common one. Often both are given by the same Father; and indeed a moment's thought is enough to show that they are not mutually exclusive.

So much for the patristic side of this discussion; and we must add that Bishop Lightfoot's treatment of the Fathers seems to us little calculated to put the facts of the case in the clear light of day. He must now be allowed to develop without interruption the substantial part of his thesis as to the temporary nature of St. Peter's primacy; any comments will therefore be thrown into footnotes.

The promise [he says] must therefore, as I understand it, describe some *historical manifestation* which sprang from St. Peter himself, "not from a confession or a faith or a constancy such as thine, but from *thy* confession, *thy* faith, *thy* constancy." As a matter of exegesis, it seems to be more strictly explained *not* of Peter himself; for then we should expect *ἐπὶ σοι* rather than *ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρῃ*; but on this constancy, this firmness of thine, to which thy name bears witness, and which has just evinced itself in thy confession."†

from the version used. For there can be little doubt that the person who originally prepared that version fully understood the real drift of the passage. A mere polemical haste to rush at a conclusion can hardly have been so happy in omission, version, and insertion at haphazard.

* "Clem. Rom." ii. 484.

† If this be the meaning of our Lord's words should we not with equal reason expect in the first half of the text: "I say unto thee that this constancy, this firmness of thine is a rock?" And as a matter of mere exegesis, seeing that our Lord's words were "Thou art rock (Cepha), and upon this rock (Cepha)," their application to Peter himself is surely more literal and natural than to the remote and unexpressed idea "this firmness of thine," &c.

Though it denotes a certain primacy given to St. Peter, yet the promise is the same in kind—so far Origen is right—as pertains to all the faithful disciples, more especially to all the apostles.* It is said of Peter here; but it might be said, and is said elsewhere, of the other apostles. They too are the *θεμέλιοι* (Ephes. ii. 20; Rev. xxi. 14); they too have the power of the keys (John xx. 22 seq.).†

But still it is a primacy, a pre-eminence. . . . In what does this primacy consist? Obviously Peter cannot be the rock, in any sense which trenches on the prerogative of Christ himself. His primacy cannot be the primacy of *absolute sovereignty*; it must be the primacy of *historical inauguration*.‡ When we turn to the Apostolic records we find that this work of initiation is assigned to him in a remarkable way in each successive stage in the progress of the Church. The same faith, the same courage, which prompted the confession and called forth the promise of Christ, follows him all along, leading him to new ventures of faith.

But lest we should misinterpret the position thus assigned to him and attribute to it a continuity and permanence which does not belong to it, he vanishes suddenly out of sight; another more striking personality assumes the chief place, and achieves conquests which he could not have achieved; his name is hardly ever mentioned. He has fulfilled his special mission, and his primacy is at an end.§

The exercise of the primacy is followed out step by step through the first twelve chapters of the Acts. "Peter asserts his primacy in the foundation of the Christian Church"; "he takes the initiative at all the great crises of its development"; finally,

The great conquest of all still awaited him. The Church must become

* In the passage of Origen referred to, no preference in regard to the promise is given to the Apostles above any other of the faithful.

† *Θεμέλιος*, a foundation stone, is quite a different thing from the rock on which a building, foundations and all, stands. We are not here seeking to fix a particular meaning on the text, but only looking into the validity of what our author brings forward. We must therefore point out that in the divine economy St. Peter may be very well both the rock and a foundation stone. Both expressions are figurative, and there is no antagonism in the two independent figures. Nor is there any need to bring them into literal or so to speak physical harmony; who would find any difficulty in our Lord being at once the Good Shepherd and the Door of the Fold? Figures must be interpreted individually.

As regards "the power of the keys," this is a technical theological, not a scriptural, term. In Scripture the power of binding and loosing is more than once mentioned as conferred generally; "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," whatever the figure may signify, are explicitly entrusted to St. Peter alone, in words which are "directed with all the force which repetition can give them to the person addressed"—St. Peter ("Clem. Rom.," ii. 487).

‡ Why "must"? Is there nothing between absolute sovereignty and historical inauguration?

§ "Clem. Rom.," ii. 487.

a world-wide Church. . . . By virtue of his primacy Peter is chosen as the recipient of this revelation of revelations. . . . Cornelius the heathen is baptised; and at one stroke all the privileges of the Christian Church are laid before the whole heathen world.

Thus the Lord's promise is fulfilled: the primacy is completed; the foundations are laid on the rock, whether of Peter's confession or of Peter's courage or of Peter's steadfastness. From this time forward the work passes into other hands. The wise master-builder piles up the later storeys of the edifice, for which his manifold gifts and opportunities had fitted him—his Hebraic elementary training, his Greek academic culture, his Roman political privileges. Paul completes what Peter had begun. The silence of the later apostolic history is not less significant than the eloquence of the earlier as to the meaning of Peter's primacy. In the first part he is everything; in the subsequent record he is nowhere at all.* He is only once again mentioned in the Acts (xv. 7), and even here he does not bear the chief part. Where the Church at large, as an expansive missionary Church, is concerned, Paul, not Peter, is the prominent personage; where the Church of Jerusalem appears as the visible centre of unity, James, not Peter, is the chief agent (Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 9, 12). Peter retains the first place, as missionary evangelist to the Hebrew Christians, but nothing more. Moreover, when St. Paul appears on the scene, he is careful to declare emphatically his independence and equality with the other apostles. "I reckon," he says, in one place, "that I fall short in no whit of the very chiefest apostles" (2 Cor. xi. 5); then again while devoting two whole chapters to recording the achievements of his apostleship, he repeats almost the same words, "I am become a fool; ye have compelled me; for I fall short in no whit of the very chiefest apostles, even though I am nothing" (2 Cor. xii. 11). Accordingly he claims all the privileges of an apostle (1 Cor. ix. 5).†

* The idea that primacy and activity, official position and personal influence are correlative—that the primate must bear the chief part and be the most prominent personage and the chief agent—lies at the basis of much of Bishop Lightfoot's argumentation. The proposition needs only to be stated in its native crudeness to make it clear that it is a confusion of thought.

† "The very chiefest Apostles" is the translation of the Authorised Version for *οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι*; but the margin of the Revised Version gives "those pre-eminent Apostles;" and Liddell and Scott say "those who are ever so undeniably apostles," or, in the latest edition, "those who are beyond all doubt apostles." And to any one who will read 2 Cor. x., xi., xii., either of Liddell and Scott's versions will appear the appropriate one. Some teachers were undermining St. Paul's authority with the Corinthians, saying he was only a second-rate apostle, or even not a true apostle. Against these disparagers of his mission St. Paul asserts the fulness of his apostolic powers and his equality therein with the foremost members of the Apostolic College.

As regards "independence," there is nothing about it.

The other text referred to (1 Cor. ix. 5) is (to use the Revised Version): "Have we no right to eat and to drink? Have we no right to lead about a wife that is a believer, even as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?"

What bearing can all, or any, of the foregoing have on St. Peter's primacy?

Moreover especially, he asserts his absolute equality with Peter (Gal. ii. 7 *seq.*);* and he gives practical proof of his independence by openly rebuking Peter, when Peter's timidity endangered the freedom and universality of the Church. If there was any primacy at this time, it was the primacy not of Peter, but of Paul.†

The first impression made upon our minds by the foregoing extract is that the arguments advanced in it are one and all quite familiar to us: they have been in common use for the past three centuries. Whence we gather that Bishop Lightfoot had really nothing to add to the case his predecessors had made out.‡ This is beyond doubt a fact of no small importance. But, on second thoughts, we realise that these arguments are here made to do a different duty from that assigned them in their traditional use among Protestant controversialists. These latter denied that the Petrine texts had conferred any primacy on St. Peter, and in these circumstances the argument of equality drawn from the passages in St. Paul's Epistles may have had some weight. But unbelieving critics in Germany—men with no higher interests at stake than those of pure scholarship and accurate exegesis—have forced scholars of Bishop Lightfoot's quality off the old Protestant ground. Now, therefore, that it is recognised our Lord did give St. Peter

* Let St. Paul speak for himself:—"They who were of repute [evidently James, Cephas and John] imparted nothing to me: but contrariwise, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision, even as Peter with the gospel of the circumcision (for he that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also unto the Gentiles); and when they perceived the grace that was given unto me, James and Cephas and John, they who are reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision" (Gal. ii. 6-9).

† "Clem. Rom.," ii. 489, 490. The allusion in the closing lines of the text is of course to the celebrated occasion at Antioch, when St. Paul resisted St. Peter "to the face because he stood condemned" (Gal. ii. 11), and rebuked him for "dissimulation" and not "walking uprightly." In his edition of the Galatians, Bishop Lightfoot thus paraphrases St. Paul's words: "At Antioch I was more than an equal. I openly rebuked the leading Apostle of the circumcision." When an inferior remonstrates with or openly rebukes a superior, does he thereby become more than an equal, does he even assert equality? When a subject has rebuked a king, or a bishop has rebuked a pope, have they really changed places and relations?

‡ An unguarded expression in "Clem. Rom.," i. p. 96, might easily be understood as meaning that an argument for the equality of the two Apostles is furnished by St. Clement, who "co-ordinates the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul as leaders of the Church"; but a reference to the preceding page and to page 9 of the same volume, shows that this is urged only against the extreme tenets of the Ebionites of the second century and the Tübingen school of our own.

a primacy, these same arguments are put in in evidence of the temporary character of that primacy. There has been a complete shifting of the ground, whereby what used to be arguments have become at most mere objections, and in their new function they are shorn of whatever force or plausibility they may formerly have had.

Reviewing as a whole the argument whereby Bishop Lightfoot seeks to neutralise the recognition of the primacy given by our Lord to St. Peter, we find it to fall under three heads.

Firstly, an attempt to weaken the force of the Petrine texts. After proving that by the words of Holy Writ it appears that our Lord really did confer upon St. Peter a primacy, a pre-eminence, among the Apostles, he goes on to argue, by the help of Origen, that, after all, what was given to St. Peter was nothing more than what was given to the other Apostles. How far Origen has availed in this cause we have seen.

Secondly, the silence about St. Peter in the second half of the Acts, which indicates that the primacy was only temporary.

Thirdly, a number of expressions and incidents in the Epistles of St. Paul, showing that the primacy had, as a matter of fact, ceased. This branch of the argument has been sufficiently dealt with in the foregoing footnotes and in what has been said just above.

The first and third members being removed, it is found that the backbone of the argument lies in the second—viz., the silence of the second half of the Acts. Here is an argument from silence, of a truth. And great indeed must be the power of that silence if it is to effect the purpose here assigned to it. For it has to limit and negative one of the most striking pronouncements that ever fell from our Lord's lips. The argument from silence, more than any other, requires to be handled with care and applied with caution. In other cases of silence Bishop Lightfoot is fully alive to the danger of assuming that the "silence means exactly what we wish it to mean." Indeed, "the argument from silence has been so often abused, that one is almost afraid to employ it at all." Yet throughout this dissertation on St. Peter "the argument from silence is courageously and extensively applied." Nay, Bishop Lightfoot is as "eloquent on the silence of" St. Luke as is the author of *Supernatural Religion* on the silence of Eusebius. Yet, as in

the case of Eusebius, so in St. Luke's, surely "the first care of the critic should be to inquire with what aims and under what limitations he executed this portion of his work."* Any such inquiry would carry us far beyond our limits; nor is there any need for it, as more than one reason, natural or providential, at once suggests itself for the story of the Acts leaving Peter and following Paul; thus, after all, the particular argument which is to effect so much is at best but an interpretative inference, and by no means a necessary one.

But let us for a moment leave the region of formal discussion of points of exegesis and criticism and logic, and see how the matter looks when viewed from a higher level.

Bishop Lightfoot practically regards the silence of the second half of the Acts as nothing less than a providential dispensation "lest we should misinterpret" our Lord's words and attribute to what they conferred upon St. Peter "a continuity and permanence which does not belong to it."† Now it is an historical fact, as all must acknowledge, that these words have more profoundly than any others in the Gospel story affected the Church as the organised Kingdom of Christ. Not merely then must one who thinks as Bishop Lightfoot, consider that they have been misinterpreted, but furthermore that by them the Church has in all ages been enthralled. Bishop Lightfoot was a believer, and those who believe that Jesus Christ is God cannot forget that all He said was said with full meaning and foreknowledge. He must have known full well that these words of His would prove a fruitful source of error to His Church, a snare to innumerable souls. And the only warning He has to give, the only remedy He has to apply is—the silence of the second half of the Acts!

Here there is a parting of the ways. To many, among whom must be Bishop Lightfoot himself, the history of the Church is from the beginning a story of grave and ever accelerated declension; it is, as in the case of Stephen and Cyprian, the wrong ever overcoming the right, and more than anything else in virtue of a false interpretation of these words of our Saviour. How dreary, how lifeless, how enigmatic a study must such Church history be.

* "Essays on Supernatural Religion," 33, 84.

† "Clem. Rom.," ii. 487.

To us, on the other hand, the story of God's Church is full indeed of contradiction, for she has to face the world, and full of failing, for she is made up of sons of Adam; but fuller still by far of joy and peace in believing that it is the manifestation, slow and patient, but ever unfolding, of God's providential government of His faithful people. And these words of our blessed Lord, spoken to the poor Fisherman, are as that grain of mustard seed, which, indeed, is less than all seeds, but which once sown has ever been growing up and putting out great branches, till in due time it became a tree, so that the nations of the earth have come and lodged under the shadow thereof.

St. Peter's primacy has detained us long, but the discussion, though worn almost threadbare, has not lost its import. It is, too, an instructive study to see this really good and able man struggling thus to free himself from the toils of the great Petrine texts.

Bishop Lightfoot's reading of the historical facts arising out of St. Peter's connection with the Roman Church will be considered in a second article. E. CUTHBERT BUTLER, O.S.B.

POSTSCRIPT.—The foregoing article was already in type when the recently published "*Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*," by the Rev. W. F. Puller, came to my hands. The author, so far as the ground covered by the present article is concerned, has little to add to Bishop Lightfoot's presentation of the case. In regard to the history of the Roman See in primitive times, i.e., in the first two and a-half centuries, he is evidently unacquainted with the progress and results, and apparently even the nature, of recent investigations, and stands in these matters very much on the footing of the old-fashioned controversial books now out of date. Thus the *Convenire* of St. Irenæus is still for him "to resort" (cf. e.g., Harnack, "*Dogmengeschichte*," i. 406); the "*potentior principalitas*" applies to the city, not the Church (cf. Lightfoot, "*Ign. and Polyc.*," ii. 191). Mr. Puller (App. Note B) discusses at length passages from St. Cyprian, which, he contends, have been "twisted" by Ultramontane writers from their true sense. From the same passages Harnack concludes that without doubt St. Cyprian in his controversy with St. Stephen put himself into contradiction with his previously expressed views on the position of the Roman See in regard to the Church. Is Harnack, too, among the Ultramontanes?

So far as concerns its bearings on the highly interesting and important question of the origins and progress of the pre-eminence of the Roman Church and See, Mr. Puller's book cannot be regarded in any other light than as a contribution to current and ordinary controversy, which will have, sooner or later, to be modified as the results of the labours of dispassionate historical critics become more common property than is at present the case in this country.

ART. II.—THE HON. CHARLES LANGDALE.

“ A Discourse preached in the Chapel of Houghton, at the Funeral of the Hon. Charles Langdale, S.J., December 9th, 1868, by Father Gallwey, S.J.”

II.

AT the time Mr. Langdale retired from Parliament, a large family was growing up and surrounding his table. By his two marriages he had had fifteen children, some of whom died in infancy. This will be the proper place to write a few words about him as the father of a family. As he devoted so large a portion of his life to providing a good education for Catholic children, it is interesting to know how he brought up his own. He does not seem to have preferred a home education even for his daughters. His sons were either at Stonyhurst or at Ushaw, and the greater part of the education of his daughters was at different convents. He attended the baptism of all his children, and as soon as the priest had concluded the ceremony, he used to kneel at one of the benches of the chapel, and, the baby being laid in his arms, he remained some minutes praying most fervently, offering up the child to God.

I remember well [says Miss Langdale], as all his children must do, going, as soon as drest in the morning, to say my morning prayers to him in his dressing-room, where we always found him on his knees, praying. And I also well remember, on my seventh birthday, being sent for to his library, where he most impressively explained the obligation of renewing my baptismal vows, and then made me do so, which he did to all his children at the same age. We must all remember so regularly going to him in his library every Sunday morning, for half an hour, before our dinner-time, to say our catechism, and be questioned and instructed in it by him. One of our greatest pleasures as children, when we came into dessert, was to hear papa tell us stories out of the Old Testament. I know that it was a system with papa to watch the first little symptoms of obstinacy or self-will in each child, and to make a point of gaining the victory, and making them submit to what he had told them to do, though even a mere trifle. This he did by calm perseverance, trying kindness and caressing first; and then, when finding the child would not yield, he patiently waited, not letting them stir till he had conquered their little fit of obstinacy. I have known him do this to

a child who was only just beginning to speak, and wait hours, and even sacrifice things apparently of consequence ; but he used to say that he considered it most important to gain this first victory, as they seldom or ever afterwarde attempted to disobey. He was far, however, from wishing to see his children without spirit. On the contrary, he always disliked and tried to overcome anything like cowardice, or want of becoming ardour and energy, in a character ; and it was evident how he enjoyed the innocent mischief, and sometimes daring acts of courage, of his sons or other young boys.

It is a pleasure to add that the love and care bestowed by Mr. Langdale in the education of his family were appreciated and largely shared by the excellent ladies who were the mothers of his children. Charles Langdale's care and attention were not confined to his own family. He used to visit the sick and suffering in his neighbourhood, and give them all the comfort and assistance he could. This practice of his was so well appreciated that, as his daughter Mary says, when a tenant farmer of his had the misfortune to shoot his arm, and the doctor decided that the limb must be amputated, his first wish was that her father should be present at the operation, and accordingly sent to beg him to come to him, which her father did, and remained with the man during the whole time. Miss Langdale adds : " It was evident how much his nature shrank from it ; still he never for a moment demurred about complying with the poor sufferer's request." He gave away a great deal of money to the poor, and this was his habit, as well as that of visiting the poor, long before he joined the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. " He never let a beggar ask an alms without giving him something. In one case, where he was during a course of years a very considerable benefactor, but quite unknown to the recipients, one of his children strongly advised him to let the objects of his charity know who their friend was, in order that he might have the benefit of their prayers ; but he would not, saying : ' Almighty God knows it all, and you don't suppose that He will let me lose anything because I choose to keep it secret.' " Reverence seems to have had a large share in the character and disposition of Charles Langdale. " It was sufficient to inspire any one with devotion," says his daughter, " to see his look of reverence when entering a church. He seemed prostrated, as has been remarked to me, with respect."

It is time now to speak of the Catholic Institute, which did some good work in its day, of which Mr. Langdale was chairman of the General Committee, which owed its usefulness mainly to him, and out of which he, with the consent of the bishops, formed the Educational Committee, the immediate predecessor of the Poor School Committee. The Institute had its origin in the Catholic Tract Society, which was commenced through the persevering exertions of William Eusebius Andrews, "to whose exertions," says Father Herbert Lucas, "as a publisher of cheap Catholic literature, our priests and people owed so much in the earlier decades of this century."*

The Catholic Tract Society was established in the year 1834. Andrews had made several attempts to set it on foot, but without success. He at last succeeded, and the Society was formed at a public meeting held on the 28th of September in the above-mentioned year, at the Wheat Sheaf Tavern, in Rathbone Place, Oxford Street. The chairman of the meeting was a well-known Irish barrister, Daniel Ffrench, commonly called Counsellor Ffrench.† The object of the Society was, as expressed in the first resolution, to circulate "cheap controversial essays on the disputed points of doctrine, to promote the light of truth, and dispel the darkness of error." The distribution of tracts was immediately begun, and some very useful ones were published. Three years afterwards the Tract Society was saved from collapse by the infusion of new life. This was effected by enlarging its scope. In addition to the distribution of tracts, the object of the new organisation was, in general terms, to watch over and protect the interests of the Catholics of Great Britain, with special reference to those unable to help themselves—such as soldiers, sailors, men, women and children in workhouses and hospitals; and also to the assistance, as far as possible, of what were then called poor-schools. This new association was formed in the year 1838, and was called the Catholic Institute. It was patronised by all the

* See three articles on the Catholic Institute in the *Month* for June, July, and August, 1884, to which I am much indebted in writing this article, especially for the account of the correspondence between Mr. Langdale and the Government in 1846-47.

† Ffrench, with many eccentricities, was an accomplished scholar. One of the Protestant Bishops, accusing the Catholics of ignorance, Ffrench wrote him a long answer in Greek.

Vicars-Apostolic, by the majority of the Catholic nobility and gentry, and by large numbers of the Catholic middle class, both English and Irish. It produced branch associations in some of the principal towns in the island. As Mr. Langdale was then in Parliament, and consequently residing for a considerable portion of the year in London, and as he had shown in the House of Commons his extraordinary capabilities as an advocate of the Catholic cause, he was called upon to take the lead in the Institute as Chairman of the General Committee. He consented to act, and from that time began that active co-operation of the Catholic clergy and laity for the redress of grievances which lasted for nearly thirty years. During the whole of that time Charles Langdale was the acknowledged leader of the English Catholic laity. It is impossible in the short space of a review to go through all the work which the Institute did.* For a few years it did solid and lasting good in all the departments of work for which it was founded, and this mainly through the fidelity and energy of Mr. Langdale. The Institute was the first organisation of British Catholics, for what may be called general purposes, since the year 1829. The Catholic Association ceased with the passing of the great Act of Emancipation, and no other society immediately followed it. From what has been said in a former article in this REVIEW,† the reader will not be surprised to hear that it was the custom during the decade, from 1829 to 1839, amongst those who immediately benefited by the Emancipation Act, to discourage anything like agitation for further rights. They felt no wrongs themselves, and they did not appreciate those which did grievous injury to the poorer portion of the community; even many of those who gave their names as members of the Institute thought that a great deal more was made of the injustice done to Catholics than the facts would justify. These gave but a weak support to Mr. Langdale. He knew, and not only knew but reflected on, what was actually taking place. The number of Catholics in public institutions was gradually increasing, and they were left, for all they required as Catholics,

* The Secretary to the Institute was Mr. Smith, formerly a writer in Edinburgh, then a recent convert. He was the father of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh.

† The DUBLIN REVIEW for October 1892, article "Charles Langdale."

entirely at the mercy of Protestant magistrates, governors and committees. Mr. Langdale and those who heartily supported him took up the cause of the persecuted poor, and, undeterred by the apathy of many Catholics, worked hard in every way they could to obtain relief. The great majority of the Catholic nobility and gentry were at that time Whigs. Their fathers became admirers, and, as far as they could in those days, supporters of Mr. Fox, when he first took up the Catholic cause, and the sons followed in the same line. It was the Whigs, aided by one distinguished Tory, Mr. Canning, who had fought for Catholic Emancipation from the death of Pitt and Fox up to the time when O'Connell brought that new and powerful force into the field which forced the Duke of Wellington to surrender. Many of the Catholic families felt so much gratitude to the Whigs, that it seemed to them there was something ungracious in asking for more. Mr. Langdale, though a strong Whig himself, was determined to ask for everything which would put Catholics on an equality with their Protestant fellow-subjects. In pursuing this course he did not hesitate, as we have seen, to put pressure on the leaders of his own party. He acted up to this principle both in Parliament and in public. Mr. Langdale's action did in practice start a Catholic party. His idea was that all Catholics, no matter what their political opinions might be, should be united when the interests of religion were at stake. He was supported by many with eagerness, and by some with a grumble. Whenever he wanted the names of those who backed him to appear, he had no difficulty in procuring their signatures to a petition or an address, and, if necessary, their presence at a meeting. He could always command enough support to show that the vast majority of English Catholics thought as he did and were represented by him.

The life of the Catholic Institute was not a long one. It was not finally dissolved until the autumn of the year 1847, having lasted nine years. But for several years before that it practically existed only in its educational department. From its commencement in the year 1838 to the end of the year 1842, it worked at first with energy, then with less vigour; and towards the latter date it began to languish. It had done some useful work, chiefly in the publication and distribution of

tracts, and in seconding and supporting Mr. Langdale in his endeavours to obtain justice for the Catholic poor, in the House of Commons. In the years 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842 temporary enthusiasm was excited by the great orations of O'Connell which he delivered in the summer of those years at the annual meeting of the Institute.

I will here interrupt the history of the Institute to give my impressions of Mr. Langdale at the time of its first formation. It was, I think, in the summer of 1839 that I first became acquainted with Mr. Langdale. It was merely a very formal introduction. It was at a meeting of the General Committee of the Institute, on to which I had been put against what, to use a modern expression, I considered the fitness of things, being then not out of my teens. I remember the occasion very well. Mr. Langdale received me with a certain mixture of dignity and kindness which I afterwards found was habitual with him in his intercourse with strangers. He told me that he was glad to see me on the committee; but nothing else passed between us. He was then in his fifty-second year. He was tall and stood very upright, like a man who had been drilled to throw his shoulders well back. He was not what I should call handsome, but had a very aristocratic countenance. He was altogether a very commanding figure. His face was much wrinkled; his hair was light, rather inclining to red, short and very curly. His serious cast of countenance was only a little short of sternness; but when animated or pleased, there was something very manly and attractive in his look. He was peculiar in his dress. He habitually, except of course in his evening dress, wore what, I suppose, would be called a cut-away coat; but the waist was longer and the skirts broader than was fashionable in that style of dress, and, what was very unusual in a long-waisted coat, every button from the chin to the waist was buttoned. If no other description had been given of him than this custom of buttoning his coat, he might easily have been singled out in an assembly of a thousand gentlemen. I don't remember ever to have seen him in a frock-coat, which was the usual morning dress of the period. At the committee meeting I have mentioned, and on the very few subsequent occasions when I attended the General Committee, it struck me that Mr.

Langdale was himself very heartily in the work of the Institute, but that somehow or other he had not very great confidence in the persevering energies of those about him.*

To resume the history of the Institute : in the year 1843 the interest of English Catholics in the organisation was dying out. O'Connell was too much engaged in his famous "Monster Meetings" in Ireland to attend even at Westminster, and therefore was unable to attempt as usual to rouse us from our apathy. However, the Institute was still alive, and a meeting was held in the Freemasons' Hall. But in the year 1844 there was no meeting. Mr. Langdale must at this time have given up all hope of seeing the Institute supported as an organisation for watching over the rights and interests in general of the Catholics of Great Britain. He no doubt had then resolved that he would no longer waste his energies in trying to blow into a flame what contained hardly a spark to work upon. But he was evidently determined that all his energy (and he had plenty of it) should be given to providing sufficient means of educating those whom he used to call "our little ones." With this object he, with the sanction of the Bishops, obtained at a meeting of the Institute, in the year 1845, a new set of rules empowering an Acting Committee in London to raise funds and do all in their power to promote the great work of the education of the poorer class of Catholics. He was himself chosen to be the chairman of this Committee, and entered upon his duties with all his heart and soul. Mr. Langdale was at this time well and gallantly supported by Frederick Lucas in the *Tablet* newspaper. In consequence of the extension of the work of the Institute to education, additional subscriptions came in ; but they were chiefly from private individuals. The congregational subscriptions were less than ever. An annual general meeting was held in 1846, at which, for the last time, O'Connell spoke. Amongst other things, he recommended the English Catholics, as a means of raising money for the purpose of education, to adopt the plan he had so often found successful in Ireland ; that is, to have in every congregation an organised body of collectors to receive the small contributions of the poor.

* As I was by many years the youngest man on the Committee, my attendances were not very frequent. It was, I think, about two years after my first introduction to Mr. Langdale that I first met him in society.

He thought the English Catholics, if earnest in the work, might raise £50,000 a year. But the Catholics in England heeded not the advice of O'Connell, and little or nothing was done.*

Between the general meeting in the spring of 1846 and the general meeting held on the 11th of April in the year 1847, the subscriptions again produced a very diminished sum; and it was clear that the English Catholics were not going to provide for the education of their children through the Acting Committee of the Catholic Institute. But Mr. Langdale's determination to exert all his power and influence to provide means for the support and multiplication of the poor-schools urged him to commence a correspondence with the Government, which, though not immediately successful, was in reality the first step towards obtaining a great act of justice. The report read at the meeting in 1847 gave an account of a correspondence between Mr. Langdale, Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, on the question of the admittance of Catholics to a share in the annual grant for education. But, before putting a summary of this correspondence before the reader, it will be useful to give a short account of the grants of public money for the purpose of education. The following account of the origin and the mode of distributing the grant is given by Mr. McCarthy†:

In 1834 the first grant of public money for the purpose of elementary education was made by Parliament. The sum granted was twenty thousand pounds, and the same grant was made every year until 1839. Then Lord John Russell asked for an increase of ten thousand pounds, and proposed a change in the manner of appropriating the money. Up to that time the grant had been distributed through the National School Society, a body in direct connection with the Church of England, and the British and Foreign School Association, which admitted children of all Christian denominations without imposing on them sectarian teaching. . . . Lord John Russell's proposition to increase the grant was agreed to by the House of Commons, "and an Order in Council transferred its distribution" by the Treasury through the two bodies above mentioned "to a Committee of the Privy Council, composed of the President and not more than five members."

The education grant was subsequently increased, in the year

* In one congregation, that of Poplar in London, enough was done, through the energy of the priest, to show what might have been done in other places.

† "History of our Own Times," vol. i. pp. 184 *et seq.*

1847, to £100,000, and a new system of administering the Government grant, and, indeed, of regulating instruction and everything else in those schools which accepted the grant, was introduced by the Education Committee of the Privy Council. This system was to frame certain minutes to carry out the design of the Council, and to put them on the table of the House of Commons. The minutes were discussed in order, and the grant was made and distributed according to the result of the debate, and with the assent of the House of Lords.

In the year 1846, though the Catholic Institute as an association for the protection of Catholic interests in general was languishing unto death, its utility as an organisation for promoting education was increasing in vigour. The Vicars-Apostolic proposed that, instead of leaving the management of the provision of means for educating the poor in the hands of the Acting Committee of the Catholic Institute, an altogether separate committee should be formed for the above purpose. The new committee was to be called the "Education Committee of the Catholic Institute." The Vicars-Apostolic also proposed that the secretary to the committee should be a priest, with no other duties to hinder his entire dedication to the good work. It was thought that a priest would be more likely than a layman to conduct those communications with the clergy which would necessarily follow on an active prosecution of all that the new scheme would involve. The committee was formed, and a priest was appointed secretary.

The Bishops, in order to aid the committee, established an annual collection for the poor-schools in all the districts. To the intense delight of Mr. Langdale, the above propositions were gladly accepted. Mr. Langdale, indeed, has the merit of originating the idea of forming a separate committee; though, in consequence of his habitual sinking of himself in all good deeds, this was not publicly known. It was, I think, after the first meeting of this committee that, as I was walking away with him down Regent Street, he told me that for years he had been urging the Bishops to establish a special organisation to promote the education of the Catholic poor children. It was not often that Mr. Langdale spoke enthusiastically of work he was himself engaged in, but on this occasion it was impossible not to see that he was enjoying intense satisfaction.

The confidence of the Bishops in Mr. Langdale was so great that they not only made use of his services to raise the pecuniary means of education, and to superintend the distribution of those means, but they entrusted him with the management of everything connected with the education of the poor which the chairman of a committee could exercise, and which did not come, as so many questions in this matter do come, within the exclusive jurisdiction of the clergy.

Immediately on the establishment of the Education Committee, Mr. Langdale turned his attention to the right of Catholics to receive a share in the Government grant. He commenced a correspondence with the Prime Minister, who was then Sir Robert Peel, asking for an interview. Sir Robert was then beset by his enemies, who were determined if possible to ruin him for having dared to trench upon their landed interests while he was bestowing upon the English people the greatest boon they had received during the century, the boon of cheap bread. Mr. Langdale received for reply that Sir Robert's time was so completely occupied that he was obliged to decline an interview for a few days. The interview never came off; for about a week after the letter was written, Sir Robert was beaten in the House of Commons by a junction of the Protectionists with the Whigs and Radicals, and he accordingly resigned. Peel was succeeded by Lord John Russell as Premier, with whom Mr. Langdale opened communications. He was referred to the Committee of Council on Education, Lord Lansdowne being the President of the Council. Mr. Langdale then requested an interview with Lord Lansdowne, but all that he obtained in answer was that the Catholic claims to a share of the education fund should be maturely considered. This was in August 1846. Mr. Langdale waited for five months, and then again applied to Lord Lansdowne in January 1847. In answer to this application, Mr. Langdale received a letter from Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, a gentleman who had taken a good deal of interest in educational matters, whose name was for some years connected with the Committee of Council on Education, and who had lately been appointed secretary to that body. In this letter Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth said he was directed by Lord Lansdowne to say that he would "bring under the consideration of the Committee of Council on

Education any application accompanied with all requisite particulars which may be made for assistance towards the erection of a Roman Catholic as well as of any other school." The letter added, "that their Lordships would thus be enabled, upon a careful examination of the constitution of the school, to determine whether, under their present minutes, they can grant such assistance." Exactly a week after the receipt of this letter, Mr. Langdale made an application for aid to Catholic schools at Blackburn. In the course of a fortnight Mr. Langdale received an answer in which Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth said "his Lordship" (that is, Lord Lansdowne) "wishes to be informed whether the proposed schools are to be exclusively Catholic; and if not, what arrangement, if any, it is proposed to make with a view to the exemption of Protestant children who may attend the schools from the religious instruction to be given there."

It now became publicly known that the Government was favourable to the project of including Catholic schools in the grant for education. The grant was to be increased this year to £100,000. The Wesleyan-Methodists took the alarm, and a deputation from them, headed by Sir Culling Eardley Smith, went to Lord John Russell to complain and to protest against Catholics sharing with the Church of England and themselves the education grant. Lord John, in his turn, became alarmed, and was afraid that he might lose the Nonconformist votes. He therefore bethought him that it would be a highly proper thing, very acceptable to the religious mind of the English, and calculated to appease the Wesleyan-Methodists, if he were to continue to insist upon the condition that the Authorised Version of the Scriptures should be read in any school to be assisted. The Catholics would have no right to complain, as they were living in a country where a translation of the Bible had been settled by Royal authority. Accordingly, on the 19th of April 1847, Lord John announced in the House of Commons, that as Parliamentary grants according to the minutes of 1839 were to be confined to those schools in which the Scriptures—that is, in the Authorised Version—were read, he did not see any occasion to raise a question on the subject then, and did not think it desirable to spend any part of the £100,000 upon the support of Roman Catholic schools. This announcement was

felt as a severe blow by Catholics, and by no one more so than Mr. Langdale. Astonishment and indignation prevailed amongst them. But some consolation soon followed. Sir William Molesworth gave notice of a motion to the following effect: that no application of public money by the Committee of Council for Education would be acceptable to the House, under minutes which excluded the Roman Catholics from a share in the grant. In support of this motion Mr. Langdale used all his influence with the Whig and Radical members, and with his friend Sir James Graham, who was a Peelite, to induce them to vote with Sir William. The clerical secretary of the Institute was sent to Lancashire to collect evidence of the number of Catholic children for whom there was no room in the schools, and of other matters the knowledge of which would be useful in the coming debate.* The same collection of evidence was made amongst the London congregations. As the day for the discussion of Sir William Molesworth's motion approached, it became well known that he would have a large following. Lord John Russell had to make up his mind whether with the Whigs who would stand by him and the Ministry, aided by those Tories who as a matter of course would vote against the Catholics, he could venture to withstand Sir William and come off with a substantial majority. Lord John Russell was a bold man, but he decided on this occasion that discretion was the better part of valour. When the day came for the discussion of Sir William's motion and the Baronet had made his speech, Lord John proposed a compromise. If the House would consent to pass the minutes as they stood for this year, he would engage that they should be so altered as to admit the Catholics to a share in the grant for the next and following years. On this announcement Sir William withdrew his motion.† This was the first victory won by the Catholics in the matter of Government assistance to their schools. Lord Beaumont also alluded to the subject in the House of Lords, and remarked that "it required some ingenuity to place

* Amongst other items, the secretary brought back to London the intelligence that there were ten thousand Catholic children in Manchester who were not receiving any education.

† Since the above was in print, I have been reminded that Sir William divided the House upon his motion, and carried it by a large majority.

upon the minute of December 1839 the construction implied—namely, that no version but the Authorised Version was to be used in the schools.”

On the 21st of April in this year 1847, just two days after Lord John Russell's announcement that Catholics were not to be included in the educational grant, the last annual meeting of the Catholic Institute was held. Several of the Vicars-Apostolic attended the meeting, and spoke out boldly. “We have been deceived,” said Bishop Briggs, “by her Majesty's present Ministers.” Bishop Sharples said: “I am astonished at the treatment which the Bishops have received at the hands of Ministers; but,” he added, “I am astonished still more at the apathy evinced by the Catholic body.” Bishop Brown said that the Government had refused our claims “upon no other than a principle of cowardice.” Bishops Wiseman and Ullathorne also spoke strongly, the former especially in showing the duplicity of several members of the Cabinet. Bishop Griffiths had already applied to Lord John Russell to receive a deputation from the Bishops on the subject of the conditions upon which Catholic schools should be assisted; but this was rendered useless for the time being by the conduct of the noble lord as already related. In anticipation of the minutes being so framed as to include Catholics, Bishop Walsh, the senior Vicar-Apostolic, had written to Mr. Langdale in the name of all the Bishops giving him information and instructions to be used in any communications he might have with the Government, as chairman of the Educational Committee of the Catholic Institute. A question also arose in the Educational Committee as to calling a public meeting of Catholics to protest against the treatment to which we had been subjected, and to make a distinct claim to our right to receive a share in the Government grant. Mr. Langdale on this occasion made a distinction between a public meeting of the Institute and a public meeting of the English Catholics; and maintained that the Institute had no power to call a meeting of the latter description. A meeting of the Catholic Institute was practically a meeting of the Catholics of England. Not many Catholics from the country would have come to either, and those who would have come up to a general meeting of Catholics would have been almost all, perhaps all of them, members

of the Institute. Mr. Langdale was, however, determined to stand by the theoretical distinction. He would not call a public meeting of English Catholics. There was a decided objection to the calling of a general meeting of the Institute. The annual meeting had just been held, and it had been held two days after the declaration of Lord John Russell that Catholics were not to share in the grant. At that meeting the speakers, including, as the reader has seen, several Vicars-Apostolic, had animadverted in strong language upon the conduct of the Ministry, and as strongly as it would have been necessary to speak at a public meeting of English Catholics. If an extra general meeting of the Institute had been called so soon after the annual meeting, it would have been superfluous; and as some of the speakers would have been, no doubt, exceedingly eloquent in their denunciations of the Ministry, we should have laid ourselves open to the observation which the *Times* made upon us in 1850, when we congratulated Cardinal Wiseman on his arrival in England, two months after date, namely, that we were "lagging enthusiasts." But these objections would not have applied to a public meeting of British Catholics, or at any rate not with the same force as they did to a meeting of the members of the Institute. For although the attendance at the one would have been much the same as the attendance at the other, a meeting of British Catholics would have been theoretically a different meeting; it would have attracted more public notice than a meeting of the Institute; it would have been reported at length in the morning papers, whereas a meeting of the Institute would have had only a short notice, or perhaps no notice at all; and, moreover, it would have been put before the public as a fitting result of the meeting of the Institute which had just been held.

Though Mr. Langdale had irrevocably made up his own mind on the question of a public meeting of Catholics, yet as he never was, and never wished to be, a dictator, several members of the committee who differed in this matter with the chairman were determined to fight the question out. As this squabble in the committee and its results formed a very important turning-point in the life of Charles Langdale, it is necessary to give as short an account as possible of how it proceeded, and how it ended. The reader must not suppose

that Mr. Langdale was opposed to the holding of a public meeting, though he perhaps had not much faith in the good it would effect. His position was that the Catholic Institute had no authority to call the meeting. A formal resolution was made in the committee by Frederick Lucas, that the chairman should call a public meeting of Catholics, and a day was appointed for the discussion of the question. In the meantime both parties prepared for the fight, and a strong "whip" was made on both sides. A good many members who had not often shown themselves on the committee attended on this occasion. I think every one of this class of men voted with Mr. Langdale. However that was, Mr. Langdale defeated Mr. Lucas's motion that a meeting should be called by a large majority. This vote did, in fact, give the *coup de grace* to the existence of the Institute. The reader has seen that, except on the Educational Committee, little or nothing had been done of late years. Now that the committee, the only organisation in the Institute which had any vitality, had refused to act outside its own doors, but in a matter connected with its own usefulness, it appeared that the Institute had abdicated its office of protector of the interests of the Catholics of Great Britain. I do not think the Institute transacted any more general business up to the time of its dissolution, towards the end of the year 1847. That it would do nothing more was well known to both Mr. Langdale and to those who were opposed to him on the question of a general public meeting. It became therefore necessary for the party of action, if I may so call it, to consider what under the circumstances could be done. Mr. Langdale, during one of the committee meetings at which the holding of a meeting was being discussed, in answer to some observation, turned to Mr. Lucas and those who were acting with him, and said, "Call a meeting yourselves, and," he added, "I will attend it." No doubt Mr. Langdale meant what he said, and would have attended a meeting called by some one else. But, "call a general meeting of the Catholics of Great Britain" is a thing more easily said than done, if "done" is to include the assembling as well as the calling of the meeting. There was only one man in England then who could do it; and that man was Mr. Langdale himself. If those whom he told to call a

meeting themselves had done so, if the meeting had been held in the morning the small room at the Freemasons' Tavern would have been about half full; if it had been held in the evening the large hall would have been crammed to the door; but the meeting would have represented the British Catholics only a little more than if it had been held in Tipperary. Mr. Langdale might have been there, as he said he would be; but he would not have been expected to issue circulars and use his influence to induce the Catholic nobility and gentry to follow him. In order to protect Catholic interests in general, it became necessary to form a new association. The result of deliberations in this matter was the establishment of the Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury, of which, as we shall see later, Mr. Langdale became a member. As it became certain that the Catholic Institute would soon be formally dissolved, the question arose, what was to become of the Educational Committee. Some change in its *status* would have to be made. The Institute dying, its committees would die with it. The Educational Committee had shown that it could be of great use both in assisting schools and in corresponding with the Government. The Vicars-Apostolic had sufficiently made known the interest they took in the work of the Committee. Their Lordships settled the question, which was really one of great importance. An experience of forty-six years has proved the wisdom of their action. They established the "Poor-school Committee."

Before concluding this article, it will be proper to consider Mr. Langdale's state of mind in the summer of 1847, with regard to active work, within a layman's sphere, in general matters affecting the interests of British Catholics. He had no doubt come to the conclusion that no association to watch over Catholic interests in general, what we should call in these days a General Purposes Committee, would stand any chance of a permanent existence. When the Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury was occasionally mentioned to him, there was a significant smile upon his face, indicating a suspicion of failure. As before mentioned, he no doubt long ago resolved not to waste time and energy on what he was convinced would not last. But he was determined more than ever to throw all his strength into any specific work which the

Bishops should intrust to him for the good of the Catholic children of Great Britain. At the same time, knowing, as he must have done, his influence with English Catholics, he had no intention of not giving his help, indeed of not leading us, in any temporary emergency. This he proved three years later at the time of the establishment of the Hierarchy. There can, I think, be no doubt that it was this state of mind with regard to his future action in Catholic affairs which made him say, and perhaps it was what he really meant to express, when he said the words mentioned above, "Call a meeting yourselves, and I will attend it." He may also have thought that it was time for men younger than himself to begin to take a more active and leading part in those matters of general interest for which the Catholic Institute had been established. But whatever may have been his definite intention, Mr. Langdale was reserved in the good providence of God to do a great work, and that he gave his whole time and attention to it, except in the few cases when his services were required in some temporary crisis, no British Catholic can ever regret.

W. J. AMHERST, S.J.

ART. III.—SOME RECENT VIEWS ON INSPIRATION.

“IT is the problem of historical criticism,” writes Strauss in the “New Life of Jesus,”* “not merely to discover what has really taken place, but also the mode by which one thing has been caused by another. But history must renounce the latter most honourable part of her problem, the moment she is ready to admit the existence of miracle, interrupting, as it does, the causation of one thing by another.” The late M. Renan is plainer still upon the same point†: “Until a new order of things prevails, we shall maintain then this principle of historical criticism—that a supernatural account cannot be admitted as such, that it always implies credulity or imposture, that the duty of the historian is to explain it, and seek to ascertain what share of truth or error it may conceal.”

The inspiration of sacred Scripture is clearly something supernatural and miraculous. Moreover, the inspired volume abounds with records of the miraculous; its very *raison d'être* is the supernatural, and it is taken up largely with mysteries, transcending the understanding of man. It is not surprising, therefore, that the admirers of such men as Strauss and Renan look upon the sacred Scriptures as being composed, to a great extent, of myth and fable. Starting from such principles as those quoted above, they are bound to regard the Bible merely as the work of man, containing a legendary history of the early days of humanity and the Israelites, which is on a par with the fabulous histories of China, Egypt, and Rome.

Martin Luther attributed to sacred Scripture the fullest possible inspiration extending to every word. What a change has, in late years, come over the successors of the early reformers, when we find an English churchman of eminence laying down, in a sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, that, “applied to the Bible, as a whole, the expression, ‘Word of God,’ seems to savour of the old theory of inspiration, which

* Vol. i. p. 197.

† “Life of Jesus,” p. 30.

no one now cares to maintain."* The new exegesis has evidently modified the views of non-Catholics in reference to the Bible. What then is the present position of the Anglican Church on the subject of Inspiration? In Whitsun week, 1891, Mr. Kirkpatrick, regius professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, at the invitation of the dean and chapter, delivered a course of lectures in the Cathedral of St. Asaph's to a gathering of clergy and laity from different parts of the diocese.† The subject was the Old Testament, and the learned lecturer defended before his audience the most recent views of Biblical critics; and also laid down that inspiration does not guarantee immunity from error in matters of fact, science, or history.

Dr. Driver, canon of Christchurch, Oxford, in his work on the "Literature of the Old Testament," quotes with approval the following words of Professor Sanday, in regard to inspiration:

In all that relates to the revelation of God and of His Will, the writers of the Bible assert for themselves a definite inspiration; they claim to speak with an authority higher than their own. But with regard to the narration of events, and to processes of literary composition, there is nothing so exceptional about them as to exempt them from the conditions to which other works would be exposed at the same time and place.‡

Nor are these views confined to any particular section of the Anglican Church. They find expression at the very headquarters of the High Church party. Dr. Gore, principal of the Pusey House, Oxford, has practically gone over to the teaching of the more recent Biblical critics, as is clear from his paper on Inspiration in the pages of "*Lux Mundi*" (pp. 337-362). It is true his opinions are enveloped in a cloud of mystic language, regarding the connection between the Holy Spirit and sacred Scripture, but, for all that, the substantial identity of his views with those of Farrar, Driver, and others of the same school, cannot be mistaken. The whole paper is an apology for modern Biblical criticism, and rejects the idea of the protection of sacred Scripture from error in matters of history, science, and the like.

* Driver's "Sermons on the Old Testament," p. 158.

† Divine Library of the Old Testament.

‡ P. xvi.

But it may be said: "These are the opinions of individual Anglicans; men of influence and learning no doubt, but still only individuals; they do not necessarily represent the formal teaching of the Church. What is the attitude of the bishops on this important question? What is the view of the *ecclesia docens* on inspiration?"

One thing may safely be said: a remarkable harmony pervades their lordships' words on the subject. Whether their teaching is likely to throw much light on the matter, we leave our readers to decide from the few specimens we adduce. "We heartily concur with the majority of our opponents," says the Bishop of Gloucester, in "Aids to Faith," p. 404, "in rejecting all theories of inspiration." "Our Church," says Bishop Thirlwall, charge for 1863, "has never attempted to determine the nature of the inspiration of sacred Scriptures." "If you ask me," writes Dr. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta, "for a precise theory of Inspiration, I confess I can only urge you to repudiate all theories, to apply to theology the maxim which guided Newton in philosophy, *hypotheses non fingo*." Finally, to take one more instance, the Bishop of Winchester writes: "It seems pretty generally agreed, that definite theories of inspiration are doubtful and dangerous" ("Aids to Faith," p. 303).

So much as to the teaching of the Anglican Church on the question of inspiration. And if it be now asked, has the Catholic Church issued any authoritative definition of inspiration, we have to reply that no direct definition of the term has ever been embodied in a formal utterance of the Church; but decrees have been promulgated by the councils sufficiently explicit in their teaching, for the guidance of Catholics. The decrees of the councils of Florence, Trent, and the Vatican are especially clear and important, and so well known, as to render it unnecessary to reproduce them here in full.

In reality, the Teaching of the Catholic Church upon the subject of inspiration may be summed up in one short sentence, "God is the Author of Sacred Scripture." So taught the fourth council of Carthage in the fourth century, and such is the pith of the Vatican decree of our own day. When, therefore, the Fathers at the Vatican and Trent anathematised any who should refuse to receive the books of the Old and New Testament,

"entire with all their parts," as *sacred and canonical*, they declared that they did so, because God is the author of these books. Moreover, the council of Florence explains that the inspiration of the sacred books by the Holy Ghost means that they have God as their author, and the Vatican council declares the same thing in still clearer terms. To understand therefore what, according to the teaching of the Catholic Church, inspiration implies, is really to investigate what is entailed in the proposition, "God is the Author of Sacred Scripture."

The council of Trent pronounces anathema against any who refuse to receive as "*sacred and canonical*" the books of Scripture entirely *with all their parts*. Before proceeding further, it will be well to determine in what sense the words "with all their parts" were introduced into the decree, and what is the precise meaning of the phrase.

In the original draft of the decree, the concluding words ran as follows*:—"If any one violate these same books and the aforesaid traditions, let him be anathema." The attention of the Fathers was, however, fixed on certain doubtful fragments of the Gospels, such as the concluding verses of St. Mark (xvi. 9-20), St. Luke's account of the bloody sweat of our Lord (xii. 43, 44), and the passage of St. John, concerning the woman taken in adultery (viii. 1-11). In the general congregation of March 27, Cardinal Pacheco proposed that these passages should be expressly named in the decree. The commission charged with drawing up the *schema* or draft, however, was opposed to any alteration, and the cardinal's proposition was rejected. A further question was raised in the congregation of April 1, whether it would not be well, so as to put an end to all doubt, to indicate in the decree, the number of chapters contained in each Gospel. Such an expedient seemed, upon consideration, to be quite useless, as it was pointed out that the inspiration of the doubtful passages might still be called in question. The proposition was accordingly negatived. However, between the congregations of April 1 and 5, the draft of the decree was taken in hand and altered so as to run as follows:—"If any one refuse to receive as sacred

* In this paragraph we follow Theiner's *Acta authentica*.

and canonical these same books, as they are read in the Church, and despise the aforesaid traditions, let him be anathema." This redaction was criticised by the Cardinal of Trent, who said, in substance, that, whereas their object was for the future to put an end to all doubts on the subject of the fragments, which had been under discussion, by this decree they would seem to be receiving only parts of the Gospels, those, namely, which were read in the Church. His contention was approved, and accordingly the words of the draft were again changed, so as to run as they do in the official decree, and the faithful were ordered to receive as sacred and canonical all the books of Scripture *with all their parts*.

From the nature of these preliminary proceedings, it is clear that the words of the Council of Trent, to which we refer, were introduced into the decree, with a view to safeguarding certain disputed passages in the Gospels; still, of course, they cannot be restricted to these passages merely, but refer, as says M. Loisy, to all notable passages of Scripture. "The council certainly understands," he writes,* "by the word 'parts' notable portions of Scripture, such as are the three fragments, which had attracted its attention." Such being the meaning of the words in the decree, how are we to reconcile with it and with the still more explicit teaching of the Vatican council, the following passage from the *Nineteenth Century*?†

Now it is simply unquestionable that, as yet, no decree whatever binds Catholics to regard as inspired anything but such passages as may turn out to have been *scripta propter se*, and it is, of course, conceivable that they may consist only of brief sentences scattered at wide intervals through the sacred books.

If the Council of Trent declares the books and all their parts to be sacred and canonical, and the Vatican council asserts this to be so, because they are inspired by the Holy Ghost, how can it be said that inspiration may conceivably be confined to a few brief sentences throughout the sacred volume?

The Church teaches therefore that the books of sacred Scripture, *with all their parts*, are inspired by the Holy Ghost, or that they have God for their author. What do we mean,

* "Histoire du Canon du Nouveau Testament," p. 262.

† Dr. Mivart's article, July 1887.

when we say that God is the author of sacred Scripture? It is clear that in dealing with the subject, we cannot leave out of sight the fact that there are two agents concerned in the composition of the Bible, the human and the Divine. For, with the exception of the Decalogue, which was engraven on stone by the finger of God, the sacred books were committed to writing by human agents. Consistently with Divine authorship then, what share in the work is to be assigned to man? The Vatican council affords some information on the point which cannot be overlooked. It teaches that it is not enough for inspiration or canonicity, that the books should have been composed by mere human industry and then approved by her authority. Such a decision is only what we should have expected; for, if a book be the composition of man, God cannot be said to be the author, by the later interposition of Church approval. Authorship requires an active part in the composition of the book. Neither is it enough, the council defines, to constitute an inspired book, that it contain revelation without error. Such a book, might no doubt, in a sense, be called Divine, on account of the exalted character of its subject-matter, much in the same way as we speak of the Divine study of theology; but divine in the sense of sacred Scripture it is not. God is not its author, and hence it is not inspired.

On the other hand, it would be unreasonable to suppose that the human agent had no part at all in the composition of the inspired volume. Why should it be said that the words and phraseology were not supplied by him, always supposing him to be so far guided as adequately to express the message which God was conveying to men? Certainly, mere words and forms of expression are not essential to authorship, as is evident from the fact that a man does not cease to be author of a book, translated into a foreign tongue, and that we still believe that we are reading the Word of God, when we read our Bible in Latin or in English. Though it must be borne in mind that there may be, and indeed are, passages in which the very words are supplied by God Himself. Why again, we ask, should we deny a certain freedom to the human agent in the arrangement of his work? Indeed, differences of style and diction, as well as imperfections in order and arrangement, seem to require that

we should make some such concession to the human factor in the composition of sacred Scripture.

Having made this admission, we are in a position to explain difficulties arising out of certain passages that have frequently been brought forward against the inspiration of the Bible. There is, for instance, the well-known passage in Joshua (chap. x.), where it is said that the sun and moon stood still. Bearing in mind what has been said, regarding the share taken by the human agent in the composition of sacred Scripture, we point out, that to him is to be attributed the form of expression employed in this place, by which we are informed, in poetical language, that the daylight was miraculously prolonged. So too, if slight variations occur among the sacred writers in recording the words of our Blessed Lord and others, the fact is easily explained. For we know that it was the substance of the words they were inspired to impart to us; and that in the choice of language they were left to themselves.* Thus, the four sacred writers who relate the words of our Saviour, in instituting the Blessed Eucharist, give each a slightly different version of them. To take the consecration, under the form of bread, St. Matthew has (xxvi. 26), "Take ye and eat, this is my body;" St. Mark writes (xiv. 12), "Take ye, this is my body;" St. Luke (xxii. 19), "This is my body, which is given for you;" and St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 24), "Take ye and eat, this is my body, which shall be delivered for you." Here we have four distinct versions of our Lord's words, yet all agreeing in substance; and from the variations that exist in the different texts, some idea may be gained of the latitude conceded to the human agent, consistently with the substantially accurate reproduction of the original words.

Divine authorship, then, does not entail the inspiration of every word in the Bible. How far does it extend? Are there any passages in the sacred volume which do not come under the sanction of inspiration, and are, what are called, *obiter dicta*? Cardinal Newman certainly argues in favour of such a restriction, in his article on inspiration in the *Nineteenth Century*;† and in a *postscript* to that article, published the

* "St. Augustine Consens. Evang." ii. 27.

† February 1884.

same year, in pamphlet form, lays down (p. 15), the following, as the advantage of such a concession :

The very comfort of an *obiter dictum* to the Catholic, whether in its relation to infallibility or to inspiration, whether in dogma or in Scripture, is, that it enables him in controversy to pass by a difficulty, which may else be pressed on him, without his having the learning perhaps, or the knowledge, or the talent, to answer it; and it enables him to profess either Yes or No in questions which are beyond him, and on which nothing depends. In difficult questions it leaves the Catholic student at peace.

Whether any advantage is to be derived from the *obiter dictum* in sacred Scripture, would seem to depend on the meaning assigned to that term; and it is not very clear from the Cardinal's words in what sense he employs it. In one sentence he lays down that we are not "to conclude that the record of facts in Scripture does not come under the guarantee of its inspiration" (p. 12), and in the *postscript* he calls attention, with some warmth, to the fact of his having done so. Moreover, towards the end of his article, he quotes the words of Professor Lamy respecting *obiter dicta*, and seems there to be using the term in the same sense as the professor. In that case, *obiter dicta* would consist of such minute matters as, for instance, what is said of the dog of Tobias, St. Paul's cloak, and the salutations at the end of the Epistles.

If such be the meaning of the term, it is clear that when such men as Patrizzi, Lamy, and apparently Ubaldi, do not venture to condemn the interpreter for recognising their presence in sacred Scripture, the authority of the Church cannot be invoked against him. But we may well ask, of what advantage to the student is such a restriction on inspiration? The possibility of the inspiration of such passages will be admitted by all who believe in inspiration at all. That any evidence will be forthcoming to shake the credibility of the facts contained in them, is hardly a practical question. German criticism pries with sufficiently microscopic gaze into the sacred text, but it is, to say the least, unlikely, that any startling discoveries, of such a kind as to disturb the peace of mind of the Catholic student, will be made either regarding the dog of Tobias or the cloak of the Apostle Paul.

If, on the other hand, the words *obiter dicta* have a wider

meaning—as, indeed, in one place at least, the Cardinal seems to imply, where he says (p. 198) that “by *obiter dicta* in Scripture, I also mean such statements as we find in the book of Judith, that Nabuchodonosor was king of Nineve”—then a far wider field is opened up before us, and we are at a loss to know in what sense the Cardinal regards—as he does—the facts of Scripture, as coming under the guarantee of inspiration. From certain words that he uses earlier in the article (p. 189), in which he explains how the facts of Scripture may be said to be inspired, it would almost seem that it is for the Bible history, in its substantial fulness only, that he makes this claim.

Are we therefore to conclude [he writes] that the record of facts in Scripture does not come under the guarantee of its inspiration? We are not so to conclude, and for this plain reason—the sacred narrative, carried on through so many ages, what is it but the very matter and rule of our obedience? What but that narrative itself is the supernatural teaching, in order to which inspiration is given? What is the whole history, traced out in Scripture from Genesis to Esdras, and thence to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, but a manifestation of Divine Providence, on the one hand interpretative, on a large scale and with analogical applications of universal history, and on the other preparatory, typical and predictive, of the Evangelical Dispensation? Its pages breathe of providence and grace, of our Lord, and of His works and teaching, from beginning to end. It views facts in these relations, in which neither ancients, such as the Greek and Latin classical historians, nor moderns, such as Niebuhr, Grote, Ewald or Michelet, can view them. In this point of view it has God for its author, even though the finger of God traced no words but the Decalogue. Such is the claim of the Bible history in its substantial fulness to be accepted *de fide* as true. In this point of view, Scripture is inspired, not only in faith and morals, but in all its parts which bear on faith, including matters of fact.

These words, taken in connection with what the Cardinal further says, that *obiter dicta* include such statements as that Nabuchodonosor was king of Nineve, seem to show that he regards inspiration as covering the Old Testament history in its substantial fulness only, but as not guaranteeing the accuracy of particular statements throughout the history. Dr. Mivart certainly seems to have understood the Cardinal to have written somewhat in this sense, and to have indicated a road along which one less fettered by official position might boldly advance. He does not, indeed, allude to the passage just quoted, but to others pointing in the same direction, and writes

as follows:* "In the matter of Biblical criticism, Cardinal Newman has himself taken a step which, though a very cautious and short one, as befits his responsible position as a prince of the Church, yet seems to indicate a road along which persons less officially fettered may boldly advance." He had said immediately before of the inspired passages of sacred Scripture: "It is conceivable that they may consist only of brief sentences, scattered at wide intervals through the sacred books."

What, then, is to be said of this view of inspiration? May we concede to the human factor in the composition of the sacred volume, that, whilst the history in its substantial fulness has God for its author, to Him are to be attributed the authorship of particular statements, and that such statements as that Nabuchodonosor was king of Nineve are *obiter dicta*? The formal teaching of the Church is confined to the utterances of the general councils on the subject, and does not seem to go beyond laying down that God is, in a real and true sense, the author of sacred Scripture. But it is certain that the teaching of Catholic theologians is opposed to the view that would admit the possibility of error in the inspired volume, whether in science or in fact; and in this matter they are but following the Fathers of the Church. For *they* certainly understood by Divine authorship, that God so guided the inspired writers, as to preserve them from error in every subject of which they treated. It may therefore be said to be the general teaching of the theologians on the subject of inspiration, that, whilst not extending to style and phraseology, it safeguards the accuracy of sacred books, *quoad res et sententias*.

Having said so much as to the extent and limits of inspiration, we proceed to discuss briefly three points, which we do not say restrict the area of inspiration, but save us from confounding with it what is not necessarily involved in it, and from giving to it a significance which it does not possess.

(1) First, it has to be noticed that the question of authorship is not identical with that of inspiration. Hence, when Dr. Mivart, in setting forth the results of modern Biblical criticism, treats together questions of authorship, date, and the veracity of the text, he may no doubt be acting in the manner best

* *Nineteenth Century*, July 1887, p. 47.

calculated to convey a clear idea of the subject to his readers; but, from the standpoint of theology, he is mixing up matters, distinct in themselves, and not necessarily connected, even from the point of view of literary criticism. Thus, when we are told that the book of *Chronicles* is considered as a thoroughly un-historical work (certainly not older than 320 B.C.), the impression is naturally produced on our minds that the date and trustworthiness of the book are inseparably connected; and, if we believe there is evidence for the date assigned, we are tempted to imagine that there must exist corresponding evidence for the other statement. In reality, the two questions are quite distinct, and of far different significance for Catholics. What then is our obligation in regard to the authorship of the books of sacred Scripture?

M. Loisy, Professor of Theology in the Higher School of Theology in Paris, proposes the following question in his "*Histoire du Canon du Nouveau Testament*" (p. 251):

Must we then say that the Council of Trent has defined the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews? Is it of faith that our Gospel of St. Matthew is entirely the work of that apostle; that the concluding verses of St. Mark, and the section concerning the woman taken in adultery, are not only parts of the canonical Scriptures, but also authentic parts of the Gospels, written by St. Mark and St. John: in a word, that all the books connected by the Council of Trent with the name of a person of the Old or New Testament are really theirs, and were written by them in the form in which we now have them?

To this question he replies, that the naming of the authors of certain books of Scripture by the Council was certainly equivalent to a doctrinal precept. The authenticity of the sacred books, in the sense that they were written by the persons named, was proposed as a "safe" doctrine, to be adhered to in public teaching, and also, in a general way, to be received with internal assent, if there were no weighty reasons for dissenting from it; but it was by no means promulgated as a formal infallible decree. "Authenticity," says M. Loisy, "is not a fact of the same order as inspiration. The latter is a supernatural fact, the object of revelation, and known only by revelation. The former is in itself an historical fact, established and attested by human means." Still, he points out

that authenticity and inspiration are connected with one another, and that hence the Church may at any time step in to settle questions of authorship.

Such being the case, what is to be said in regard to the question of the Mosaic authorship? For, obviously, the mere fact of no dogmatic utterance having been pronounced on the subject does not leave the field free for Catholics. Cardinal Newman concedes that "Moses may have incorporated in his manuscript as much from foreign documents as is commonly maintained by the critical school." Unfortunately, such a concession hardly touches the point at issue. With modern criticism, it is no mere question of incorporated documents: it is a revolution in our way of looking at the Pentateuch that is involved. The five books of the Law are regarded as the outcome of a growth which went on in ages long after Moses; they are the result of a series of editings and re-editings extending even to the Babylonian exile. They contain, perhaps, some Mosaic germs; though, it may be, not a line of the Pentateuch was written by Moses himself. In the face of such teaching, what is to be said of the Mosaic authorship?

The precept of a general Council, guiding the action of Catholics on the subject, cannot be left out of sight. And though, no doubt, freer scope is permitted to Catholics in these days, in discussing questions of authorship and authenticity, still such liberty must be used with prudence and caution. Nor is it right to set aside an opinion, handed down from the earliest ages of the Church, without clear and cogent necessity.

But, apart from the weight attaching to tradition upon the subject of the Mosaic authorship, there are other difficulties to be surmounted. There are our Lord's references to the Pentateuch, under the name of Moses, and there is the text of the Pentateuch itself. Are the words by which Jesus Christ refers to the Pentateuch inconsistent with non-Mosaic authorship? Clearly, the fact that our Saviour cited the Law, under the name of Moses, is an argument not lightly to be set aside; but it does not seem decisive of the point. Many reasons have been adduced by modern writers to show this. We would here suggest another, which may perhaps be worth notice. Can we be always certain by what exact form of expression our

Saviour named the Pentateuch in His quotations? Does inspiration extend so far as to guide the sacred writer to tell us whether our Lord referred to "the Law" or "the law of Moses," or simply "Moses"? Certainly, from the divergences already pointed out between different writers in narrating the same words of Jesus Christ, it would seem not; and if this be so, the argument loses much of its weight.

The most serious question to be considered, however, is the text of the Pentateuch itself. That Moses nowhere claims to have written more than certain portions of it may be true. But, then, does not the legislation, referred by modern critics to a comparatively recent date, claim to have been written in the time of the exodus? Are not some of the passages, clearly assigned to Moses by the Pentateuch, declared by the new school of interpreters to be of late origin? These and kindred questions seem to us to present the most serious obstacles to the rejection of the Mosaic authorship.

The question of the authorship of the Pentateuch is perhaps the most difficult of those, raised by modern criticism, regarding the authenticity of the books of sacred Scripture. The authority of a book in the Canon is not necessarily impaired, because we do not know the name of its author; and, as a matter of fact, the authors of many of the books of the Old Testament are unknown, as the books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Kings*, and *Chronicles*. Such being the case, it does not seem necessary that we should know, in every case, who wrote the various additions, fragments, and deutero-canonical parts in sacred Scripture. "It seems clear," says M. Loisy (p. 263), "that inspiration does not exclude the collaboration of several authors in the same work." Accordingly, the known and acknowledged inspiration of such passages as the concluding verses of St. Mark, and the account of the adulterous woman, does not settle the authorship of these passages. Apparently, the book of *Proverbs* is not entirely from one pen (Cornely); nor was the discourse of Elihu, in *Job*, necessarily written at the same time as the rest of the book. So, too, we may say of the deutero-canonical parts of *Esther* and *Daniel*, that they probably do not belong to the first redaction of these books. But whatever be the origin of these and similar passages, they are inspired; and moreover, it is to be presumed, that they

were written by those with whose names they are associated, unless there are grave and conclusive reasons for deciding otherwise.

Cardinal Newman lays down that it does not matter "whether one or two Isaiahs wrote the book which bears that prophet's name" (p. 196); and, indeed, it seems that of late many Catholic interpreters have held the divided authorship of that great prophecy; nor, apparently, can any objection be raised on the score of inspiration. In the case of most of the prophetic books, as Cornely* points out, they contain but a summary of the prophets' teaching. They were probably compiled by their authors, when advanced in life, and give only the substance of discourses delivered during a long series of years. No doubt, too, considerable freedom was exercised by the writers in arranging, altering, and adding to their discourses, so as to bring them in conformity with a definite plan.

(2) Besides distinguishing between authenticity and inspiration, it must be remembered that the words of Scripture cannot always be interpreted in the same way. St. Thomas, discussing the question whether Paradise is *locus corporeus* (Summa I. ques. 102), lays down as a principle that "in all matters which Scripture delivers, after the manner of historical narrative, we must hold as a fundamental fact, the truth of the history." With great deference we are compelled to say that Cardinal Newman seems to us to draw from these words a conclusion which they do not warrant. "In giving a *rule* or test of the truth of historical statements," he says, "he surely implies that there are, or at least that there may be, statements which do *not* embody—which do not profess to embody—historical truth." These are what the Cardinal would call *obiter dicta*.† It is obvious that St. Thomas implies that there are, or may be in Scripture, passages which do not embody historical truth. But he does not refer to *obiter dicta*, or passages which have not the guarantee of inspiration; it is to narratives in allegory, metaphor, parable, and the like that he refers. So that in the case under discussion the great theologian seems to us to be inquiring whether the account of

* Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 288 *et seq.*

† Postscript, pp. 17, 18.

Paradise given in *Genesis* is historical or allegorical ; for if the former, it must be taken literally as true.

It is clear that it is important for the interpreter to bear in mind the different styles of narrative in Scripture ; for one of the difficulties in explaining the earlier parts of the Old Testament is to distinguish accurately between what is historical and allegorical. So too it must not be forgotten that a considerable portion of the Old Testament is written in poetry, and that these passages are to be interpreted according to the rules of that kind of composition. For example, the two accounts given in the book of *Judges* (chaps. iv. and v.) of the deeds of Debhora and Barac, may be readily harmonised if it be borne in mind that the second narrative is written in poetry.

(3) Finally, the idea of inspiration, in its strictest sense, applies only to the original copies of sacred Scripture. Centuries have passed since the last page of the Bible was written ; the autographs of the inspired writers have long disappeared ; and we are left with copies of the Scriptures, made ages after the deaths of their authors. Moreover, the existing versions and codices of the sacred text differ much from one another, and errors in fact and chronology, as is admitted by all, have crept into the inspired volume. It is obvious, therefore, that it is of the utmost importance to know how far the idea of inspiration applies to the Bible, as we now have it, and where a genuine edition of sacred Scripture is to be found.

The Council of Trent has supplied an answer to both these questions, in declaring the Latin Vulgate to be "authentic," in the decree *De editione et usu sacrorum librorum*. Owing to the inconvenience caused by the great number of Latin versions which had appeared in recent years, and also because it seemed important to have one official text as a basis of pastoral and dogmatic teaching in the Church, the Council formulated this disciplinary enactment. But it must not be supposed that the declaration of the authenticity of the Latin Vulgate necessarily implies it to be the most accurate edition of sacred Scripture. It disparages neither the Septuagint nor the Hebrew ; nor does it imply that a new edition might not be prepared, more accurate than any now in existence. It merely

declares the Vulgate to be the official text of the Church. The degree, of course, implies in a general way and substantially, the conformity of the Vulgate with the original text; for, were the Vulgate substantially corrupt, the Council of Trent could not have adopted it as the official text of the Church. But, furthermore, this substantial conformity is guaranteed implicitly by the dogmatic decree on the canon, where it is said that we are to receive, as sacred and canonical, the entire books *as they are contained in the Latin Vulgate*.

Assured that there existed sufficient conformity [says M. Loisy (p. 258)] between the original Scriptures and the Vulgate, and that the latter did not contain any error in matters of faith and morals, so that it might be used as a basis for the ordinary teaching of the Church, the Council adopted the Vulgate, to the exclusion of more recent versions; but, on the other hand, knowing that the Vulgate had not been preserved free from all alteration, it expressed a wish that it be emended, and entrusted to the care of the Holy Father the execution of that work.

Then, discussing the possibility of the interpolation of dogmatic texts in the Vulgate, he continues:

Of this the Council was persuaded, that if such interpolations have been introduced, in the course of centuries, into the Latin Bible, they are not of such a kind as to modify or alter the doctrine contained in authentic texts; for the rest, it belongs to *savants* by profession to examine if such or such a verse, phrase, or part of a phrase, has been added, omitted, or altered in the Ecclesiastical Books.

Acting on these principles, M. Loisy does not hesitate to reject as interpolations the verse concerning the three heavenly witnesses, several verses in Ecclesiasticus (notably xxiv. 45), and the words of Job, "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth" (xix. 25). He also holds that the words of Isaiah (xi. 10), "and His sepulchre shall be glorious," are a late emendation for "and his dwelling shall be glorious." Without expressing any opinion on the merits of M. Loisy's decision in regard to these particular passages, it is safe to say that considerable latitude is allowed by the Church to the student in dealing with the text of the Vulgate, provided he is acting on solid grounds.

Many Catholics are uneasy at the progress that is being made in science and history in these days, as if these branches of learning were destined to subvert the Word of God. Hence

a desire in some quarters to restrict the sphere of inspiration, and to attribute to much in Scripture a merely human authority. A restlessness and dread of what is coming prevails outside the Church of God; it is not unnatural that some little of this anxiety should find its way inside the fold. But there is no reason to fear. With the assured results of science, Scripture can never be at variance. It is only the immature conclusions of faulty science that seem to clash with God's Word.

J. A. HOWLETT.

ART. IV.—SOME ENGLISH CROSSES.

MOST people have heard of the crosses at Iona, and have a vague idea that a king of England once lived who had a wife named Eleanor, to whose memory he erected crosses; but there are few persons even amongst the well-informed and cultivated classes who realise that in pre-Reformation times there was scarcely a village or hamlet in England which had not its cross; the memorial of the piety of an individual, or set up by some religious body. Many parishes had more than one, and it was by no means uncommon for the larger towns to have four or five; we know that at Liverpool there was the High Cross, the White Cross, and St. Patrick's Cross. The crosses of England may be divided into several classes.

There was the Churchyard Cross; this was almost invariably placed on the south side of the church; in some cases it was a magnificent piece of work, showing the sculptor's art in all its glory, but more usually it was comparatively small and plain. These crosses continued to be multiplied in number down to the period of the Reformation; it must be remembered that there were few ways in the Middle Ages by which a man could spend money in charity with the (to him) absolute certainty of doing the good that the erection of crosses offered. When the great outburst of iconoclastic zeal took place in the sixteenth century, more than two-thirds of the crosses in England were destroyed, in some cases orders were issued that they should be torn down by the powers that were; in others, the mayors of towns and chief people in the country parishes did it to mark their devotion to the tenets of the reformed religion, and as an unmistakable setting forth of the fact that they had abjured the errors of Rome. Nor was this wholesale destruction confined to the churchyard crosses only; the Puritan spirit then dominant, was, for ends of their own, fanned by Elizabeth and her advisers; anything that could serve to turn the minds of men away from the un-reformed Church was eagerly welcomed; crosses were an outward and visible sign of the devotion that had existed, and to a great extent still remained,

towards Catholicism ; therefore they were condemned. It was on the part of the great mass of Puritan enthusiasts merely a misdirected sense of right that led them to demolish whatever they considered savoured of Romanism ; on the part of the Crown and the high officials it was a well-considered move in the game they were playing. The Queen and her councillors were far too enlightened to object to crosses, but in their eyes the necessities of the case demanded their destruction.

The upheaval of the Reformation confused men's minds ; they were stunned by the shock, and never realised until it was too late what the real aim of those in power was. At heart the great body of the people remained Catholic, they conformed outwardly, but Puritanism never killed the Catholic spirit in England, though by destroying so much that was not only beautiful but symbolic, the lives of the people were rendered to a great extent blank.

The Anglo-Saxon crosses usually had the Crucifixion carved on them. It was the custom at that time to erect the churchyard cross either near to the south doorway of the church or by the side of the pathway which led to it, so that the pious might be reminded at all times as they entered or left the building by the sight of Our Saviour upon the Cross, to pray for the souls of those whose bodies were mouldering below the grass at their feet.

Occasionally these churchyard crosses were called "Palm Crosses," because on Palm Sunday it formed a station in the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament ; also after the Passion had been recited at Mass on that day, blessed palms were brought out, and the cross was decked with them. Most likely these palm wreaths remained on the cross until either very late on the following Thursday, or early on Good Friday morning, when no doubt they would be removed. Henry Bunn, in his will, 1501, ordered a cross to be set up in Hardley Churchyard "*pro palmis in die ramis palmarum offerendis*."*

The ceremonies at the cross on Palm Sunday were common also in France and Germany. It was not only acts of religious ceremonial which took place at the cross, many civil functions were performed there. Formerly the mayors of Folkestone

* Bloomfield's "Norfolk," x. 141, edit. 1809.

assembled the electors to meet them at the churchyard cross on the eighth of September, in order to choose the mayor for the following term of office. It must have been an imposing sight; the sign that the hour had arrived to proceed to the meeting-place was given by the blowing of a horn.* This horn now hangs over the mayor's seat in the Town Hall.

When all were assembled, the mayor addressed them and bade them go into the chancel of the church and there elect the new mayor, which was then done. Whether they again returned to the cross we do not know. The Manor Court of Aston Rogers, Shropshire, met at the cross.

The crosses at Sandbach in Cheshire are considered to be older than any in England, but they do not stand in the churchyard; they are held by authorities to date from the eighth century, and some even consider them not to be later than the seventh. They are too well known to need any description. There seems to be no reason why they should not last for the next thousand years; the stone of which they are made is the Lower Silurian formation, and is practically indestructible by weather or time. It is by no means an uncommon thing to find the bases of churchyard crosses yet remaining, and at times they are dug up by the sexton. Half the stone into which the base of the cross had been fitted, was dug up about forty years ago in the churchyard of Northorpe, Lincolnshire, but it was destroyed at the time, or very soon afterwards. At Bottesford, in the same county, the base of the cross remains in its original position on the southern side of the churchyard, about forty or fifty feet from the church; the cross itself is still fixed firmly in its place, but it has evidently been taken up at some time and the column considerably shortened, and then put back again; at the present time it is only about three feet high. The object of thus shortening it seems to have been that a sun-dial might be placed on the top. The head

* At Ripon the badge of the Wakeman (mayor as he has been called since the Municipal Reform Act) is a very old horn, the baldric of which is decorated with little silver ornaments given to it by the various Wakemen; some of these appear to be very ancient. Another large horn is blown every evening in front of the mayor's house, and at what is known as the Market Cross, an Egyptian-like obelisk which stands in the market-place, and which no doubt occupies the place where the market cross once stood. An engraving of the Wakeman's Horn may be seen in Walbran's "Guide to Ripon."

of the cross has been roughly levelled to admit of this being done. The holes in the stone show where it was attached, but the dial itself has long since ceased to mark the drawing nearer of eternity.

The east of England is much poorer in crosses than the west, but Lincolnshire can boast of one which is said to be unique, and is by some people considered to be the most graceful churchyard cross in Britain. It stands in the churchyard of Somersby, near Louth, celebrated as being the birth-place of Tennyson. The beautiful octagonal column springs from broaches which rest upon a square base, it is fifteen feet high, and is surmounted by an embattled triangle, the top of the shaft having also an embattled head. There is no tradition by whom, or for what purpose, it was erected; we do not know whether it was meant to keep in the memory of men some one who rests near it and who has been forgotten these four hundred years, or whether it is a "Weeping Cross," or only the ordinary churchyard cross. There is a good account of it to be found in "*Ancient Stone Crosses of England*," by Alfred Rimmer. There is a curious custom connected with the churchyard cross at Stringston, in Somersetshire. A writer in the *Ecclesiologist* for 1844* says, "Until very lately it was the custom of the people of Stringston to do obeisance to the churchyard cross."†

In many parts of England the old feeling of reverence had never died out, but I do not at this moment recollect another instance of the peasantry paying honour to the cross, so late as the middle of the present century. At Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, there is in the vestry of the church a most interesting fragment of the old cross which no doubt once stood in the churchyard there. It has on it, on one side, the Crucifixion, which is very general; on the other, Our Lady, crowned, which is unusual.

Some writers have spoken as though crosses were never erected in churchyards after the Reformation, and no doubt it was rarely done, but we have positive evidence that it was

* iv. 291.

† Sixty years ago, at Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire, the old men used to give a pull at their forelocks, towards the altar, on coming into and leaving the church, and the old women curtsied towards it.

occasionally allowed. The following inscription upon the cross in the churchyard of Fyfield, Berks, is an instance in point :

This cross was erected
in the year 1627
at the expence of
WM. UPTON, esq.*

Wayside crosses are believed not to have been so common in England as they are at the present day in some parts of Spain and Italy, but there were undoubtedly an immense number of them. There are probably more remaining now in Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall than in all the rest of England put together. There were several reasons for the erection of these emblems of Christianity, but no doubt the chief one was that so quaintly expressed in a kind of commentary on the ten commandments, "*Dives et Pauper*," printed by Wynken de Worde, at Westminster, in 1496. The author tells us that "for this reason ben crosses by ye waye, that whan folke passynge see the crosses they sholde thynke on Hym that dyed on the crosse and worshyppe Hym above all thynges."

It was also a practice to set them up on the spot where a murder had taken place, and is commonly done in Spain to this day.

They were often erected in positions suitable for funerals to rest at. The body was placed at the foot of the cross, and the mourners rested and prayed for the soul of the departed. Archbishop Grindal † issued an injunction against resting with corpses at crosses on the way to burial.‡

There is a very ancient cross at Lancaster, with the following Runic inscription upon it :

Pray for Cynibald the son of Cuthbert.§

In Ely Cathedral is the base of a cross that was formerly at Heddenham, commemorating the steward of Etheldreda (he seems to have died about 680). The following is the inscription upon it :

* *Gents. Mag. Lib.*, Topog. i. 156.

† Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London; Archbishop of York, 1570; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1575-6.

‡ Parker Soc. Index, 253.

§ *Archæological Journal*, iii. 72.

✠ Lucem . Tuam . Ovino .
 Da . . Deus . Et . Requiē .
 Amen .*

There is the fragment of an ancient cross to be seen close to Doncaster, with an inscription upon it in Norman French :

✠ ICEST : EST : LA : CRVICE : OTE : D : TILLI :
 A : KI : ALME : DEV : EN : FAICE : MERCI :
 A . M .

Tradition says that this cross was destroyed by the troops of the Earl of Manchester, either on their way to or as they came from the battle of Marston Moor. If there be any truth in the story, it would be most likely to have taken place on the return march southwards. The Parliamentary general was in a great hurry on his way to the north, and, however much their zeal against signs and symbols might lead the Puritan soldiers under him to desire to pause and demolish any work of art that lay in their line of march, it is very unlikely that they would have been allowed to waste valuable time by doing so at that juncture.

Near Cambridge once stood a wayside cross, asking the prayers of the passers-by for one Evrard :

Quisquis es Eurardi memor esto Bechensis, et ora
 Liber ut ad requiem transeat absque mora.†

Certain crosses seem to have been objects of devotion to various trades or professions. The cross at Kings Weston, Gloucestershire, stood near the Severn, and was an object of great reverence to sailors. After returning from a voyage they visited it, to give thanks for being brought home in safety, and before they again sailed to pray that they might return in prosperity.

Wayside crosses, besides being memorials of some person or event, or objects of especial devotion to some class of people, were often used as meeting-places. There is a local tradition which says that the base of a mediæval cross raised on octagonal steps, which yet remains, half way between York and Fulford, a village about a mile and a half to the south of

* *Rock*, "The Church of Our Fathers," vol. iii. part i. 18.

† *Leland's "Collectanea,"* ii. 438.

York, was used as a place of meeting between the townsfolk and the country people during the Plague in 1665. That it was so used during the cholera in 1833 we know. Those who had market produce of any kind to dispose of, placed their goods on the steps, and when the bargains were concluded, the purchasers in their turn laid the money there, so that none needed to touch each other. There can be but little doubt that the crosses destroyed at the Reformation far exceeded in number those that remained, but the Civil War between Charles I. and his Parliament, attended as it was by an outburst of fanatical zeal, caused many to be demolished which had weathered the greater storm of the preceding century. Many things of interest suffered from the vandalism of the ignorant soldiery, and crosses being considered emblems of Popery, were very hardly dealt with. Over the greater part of England where the tradition exists that any work of art was destroyed from 1642 to 1658, it is stated, and firmly believed to have been caused by, or at least received the sanction, of Cromwell. In some few instances there seems to be evidence that he did allow it, but in most cases he never was near the place either then or at any other time. Unfortunately the crosses in the west of England have suffered in more recent days from another cause. It was by no means an uncommon thing for the farmers in the eighteenth century, and even till within living memory, to use them for gate posts. This was perhaps more done in Cornwall and Devonshire than anywhere else, but the neighbouring counties can, alas! show specimens of this wanton destruction. The crosses usually to be met with in the western part of the island are oblong blocks of granite, generally with a flat circular top, on one side a Latin cross, on the other usually a rough sculpture representing the Crucifixion. In some instances we find the Latin cross replaced by the Greek one, but this is rarely to be met with. These crosses vary much in size; while some are nearly eight feet high, others appear only a foot above the ground. It is believed there is no Cornish cross with any inscription upon it, save one, the Market Cross at Penzance. It is said the following inscription is concealed at the bottom of the shaft:

*Hic procumbunt corpora plorum.**

* Halliwell, "Rambles in Western Cornwall," p. 29.

The west of England must have been wonderfully rich in crosses; there are five remaining at the present time in the parish of Lelant in Cornwall. At St. Erth in the same county the cross has a square head, an unusual feature in that part of the country, the heads of the crosses there being nearly all of them circular. Many of these heads have four round holes in them; when this occurs they are usually named "Four Hole Crosses."

Norfolk possesses several crosses in a fair state of preservation. One of the best among them is that in Langley Park; it consists of a single shaft; the ornamental carvings upon it are very beautiful, and it is in a wonderfully good repair. Very early in the present century Sir Thomas Proctor removed it from its original site near to the Abbey, and placed it where it now stands, to mark where the parishes of Langley, Chedgrave, and Thurlton meet. In the removal the shaft was unfortunately broken, but it was mended when the cross was once more set up; it is a great pity that it was ever taken from its place, but to put it back might be dangerous, as again the shaft might break. Mr. Samuel Whitbread, the great grandfather of the present Member of Parliament for Bedford, erected a wayside cross at Cardington in that county, in the centre of the three roads which lead to Bedford, St. Neots, and Cardington. This is a late instance of such a cross being erected before the present revival. Many of the wayside crosses were set up as boundary marks, and they are often alluded to in old chartularies. When by far the greater part of the country was unenclosed, such marks were necessary, and a natural instinct of piety dictated the form. It would be difficult to say why the east of England suffered more than the southern and more westerly parts of the island by having these memorials destroyed. The city of Lincoln is an example of this. We know Remigius built a cross there; he was succeeded by Hugh de Grenoble, who erected two if not more in the city, and from time to time we hear of others; all have perished; St. Mary's Cross, so called, being a conduit.

Weeping Crosses were crosses that had either been expressly set up as stations at which to do penance, or those used as such. They must have been very common, for "to return home by weeping cross" became a proverb, and signified that the

individual about whom such a remark was made had failed in something, in the success of which he was deeply interested, or had in some way or other been very unfortunate.

He that goes out with often losse,
At last comes home by Weeping Cross,*

seems to indicate that the expression was generally meant to indicate that a person had had a series of misfortunes in his business or calling in life.

This phrase seems to have lasted as late as till the middle of the eighteenth century.

Ozel,† in his translation of Brantome's "Spanish Rhodomontades" (2nd edit. 1774, p. 56), says: "Making an eruption into Provence, he came home by weeping cross."

The Weeping Cross at Shrewsbury was one of the stations on Corpus Christi Day; the various guilds and corporations visited it, and there offered up prayers for a good harvest. There is a road outside Salisbury named "King John's Lane," leading from Clarendon to Old Sarum; it is crossed by another road, and at this point there is a clump of elm-trees. These trees are known as "the weeping cross trees." There can be but little doubt that on this spot a Weeping Cross once stood, and the memory of it is handed down to us in this manner, though in all likelihood it perished more than three hundred years ago; but let a name or a tradition once take firmly hold of the hearts and minds of the people, and it dies hard. As will be seen later on, it seems to have been the custom to plant trees in the place of the cross when it was demolished. I have been informed that on some maps this clump of elms is called "Whipping Cross Tree," which is evidently a corruption. There is, however, a very curious instance of the way in which, what may be termed modern myths, are evolved, to be found in connection with this place. It is stated, and no doubt truly, that the London coach stopped here to pick up passengers, and that their

* Hazlitt's "Eng. Prov.," p. 3.

† John Ozel. He was the translator of many French, Italian, and Spanish books, amongst the rest of "Don Quixote," and the works of Rabelais and Molière. Pope alluded to him somewhat unfavourably in "The Dunciad," whereupon he drew a comparison between the poet and himself, by no means in favour of the former.

friends usually accompanied them to the starting-point; and as, in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, a journey from Salisbury to London was not a thing to be lightly undertaken, the partings that took place here were often of a tearful and melancholy kind, hence the name "Weeping Cross," for they wept where the roads crossed each other. Such is history.

Near Islip Church, Oxfordshire, is to be seen a large elm-tree, its root surrounded by stones; this is known as "The Cross Tree," but whether it was a Weeping Cross, or merely a Wayside Cross, we have no means of knowing.

There is a Weeping Cross near Holywell in Flintshire. The Welsh name for it means the Cross of Mourning.* Weeping Crosses must have been numerous; there is one yet remains near Stafford, and there was one formerly between Banbury and Adderbury.

Preaching Crosses were places where sermons were delivered by the preaching friars and other ecclesiastics. There was, until about twenty years ago, an old sycamore-tree in the village street at Messingham, in Lincolnshire; it was named "The Cross Tree," and no doubt occupied the place where the cross once stood. Did John Wesley realise, as standing beneath it he preached to the crowds that flocked to hear him, that, as the shadow of the sycamore fell upon him, so on that very spot had the shadow of the cross fallen centuries before, upon those who then spoke to the ancestors of the men and women listening to him, of things spiritual and the life eternal to come?

When the old tree died, a young one of the same kind was planted in its place, and is also known as "The Cross Tree." St. Paul's Cross was one of the most celebrated of the preaching crosses, not only of England, but of Europe; what it may have been like at first we have no means of knowing, but in later days it was a pulpit of wood, raised on a flight of stone steps, and covered with lead. The citizens of London formerly held their meetings at it, and it is associated with many historical events, the memories of which yet remain with us. In the reign of Richard III., Jane Shore did penance before it.

* Rimmer, "Ancient Stone Crosses of England," chap. i. p. 14.

It was in front of this cross that Cardinal Wolsey sat in state to hear fulminations against the doctrines of Luther, and it was here that, by the orders of Henry VIII., sermons were delivered to the wondering crowds in favour of the Reformation. Hither came Queen Elizabeth in 1588 to attend a service of solemn thanksgiving for the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Sermons continued to be preached here, more or less irregularly, until 1643, when, by the orders of the Parliament, it was demolished along with various objects of interest. The destruction of crosses, glass, and the many other monuments of bygone ages occasioned much ill-feeling, and there still remain some of the satires written at the time; the following is a specimen of verse of the better sort that was written to bring the spoilers of sacred things into contempt in the eyes of the people:

They pluckt communion-tables down, and broke our painted glasses,
They threw our altars to the ground, and tumbled down the crosses;
They set up Cromwell and his heir, the Lord and Lady Claypole,
Because they hated common-prayer, the organ, and the may-pole.*

Bishop Percy refers to Whitelock's statement, under the date May 3, 1643, that Cheapside and other crosses were ordered to be pulled down by a vote of Parliament, but this order was not carried out so far as Charing Cross was concerned until the summer of 1647.†

In his "Relics" [ii. 331] Bishop Percy prints an amusing account of the destruction of Charing Cross; it commences thus:

Undone, undone, the lawyers are,
They wander about the towne,
Nor can find the way to Westminster,
Now Charing Cross is downe;
At the end of the Strand, they make a stand,
Swearing they are at a loss,
And chaffing say, that's not the way,
They must go by Charing Cross.

There are six verses in the poem, and perhaps the one already quoted and the fifth are the best. The latter is

* Thomas Jordan, "A royal Arbor of loyall Poesie," 1663. Jordan wrote an immense number of books and pamphlets. He has been called "the professed pagent writer and poet-laureat for the city."

† "Relics of Ancient English Poetry," ed. 1794, ii. 338.

interesting, as showing that the destruction of crosses was general :

The committee said, that verily,
To popery it was bent,
For aught I know, it might be so,
For to church it never went.
What with excise, and such device,
The kingdom doth begin
To think you'll leave them ne'er a cross
Without doors nor within.

A beautiful specimen of a Preaching Cross at Hereford escaped the fate of so many others, and is still to be seen in the Dominican Priory there. Preaching crosses may yet be found at the Cathedrals of Norwich and Worcester, on the north side. It is said St. Oswald used to preach at the cemetery cross at Worcester, but I do not know the evidence for this belief. There are other specimens of preaching crosses to be seen, we know of the existence of many that have perished, and there must have been numbers of others of which no tradition, written or unwritten, now remains.

Market crosses were to be found in the Middle Ages in almost all towns, they were generally placed in the centre of the cross streets, and were no doubt intended as places of shelter for those attending the market. The usual form was a vaulted structure, with opening at the sides and cross on the top. They varied much in size, shape, and detail. Fine examples yet remain at Chichester, Malmesbury, Elgin, Glastonbury, Shepton Malet in Somersetshire, Salisbury, and other places.

Some people consider the Market Cross at Chichester to be the finest specimen now left in Britain; it is certainly one of the most elaborate. It was built by Edward Storey, who was translated from the see of Carlisle to that of Chichester in 1478. It was restored during the reign of Charles II. by the Duke of Richmond.*

Ipswich could once boast of a very interesting old market cross, but, to the everlasting disgrace of those who authorised such an act of vandalism, it was destroyed early in this cen-

* Rimmer, "Ancient Stone Crosses of England," 1875, chap. v. p. 62.

tury. On the summit was a colossal figure of a woman holding a pair of scales. As far as I am aware, there is but one other instance of this in England. Coventry Cross has the figure of Justice at the top, holding a pair of scales also. There is little doubt that these figures were intended to typify the fact that just dealing ought to reign below. Malmesbury Market Cross is in very good preservation. Leland gives an account of it. Market Crosses served a double purpose: the seller looked upon the cross and swore that what he offered was honestly come by and good, and this supplied the place of a voucher.* The Market Cross at Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, is one of the best examples that yet remain. It was erected in 1505, by one Walter Buckland and Agnes, his wife.†

In addition to the Market Cross, each town usually had a High Cross, at whose foot public meetings were held, proclamations made, and much civil business transacted. If there were no High Cross, such things were then, as a rule, done at the Market Cross. Macaulay alludes to this in his account of the Mayor of Plymouth, in "The Armada" raising the standard,

His yeomen round the market cross make clear an ample space,
For there behoves him to set up the standard of Her Grace.

We find that in 1529 the play of "Robert Cecill" was performed at the High Cross, at Chester, and that it was newly gilded, most likely in honour of the event. In 1583, Nicholas Massy, sheriff, "being a godly zealous man," not long before his death, pulled down certain Crosses there by command of the Archbishop's‡ visitors—one at the Barrs, one at Northgate, and another at Spittal Boughton.§ There was also a cross somewhere near to St. Michael's Church.

There is a meadow on the west side of the city, called the Roodee. In former days, when the tide rose it was covered with water, with the exception of a small island, on which stood a Cross, or Holy Rood. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1807,|| speaking of Chester, says, "The only remains of any cross

* Southey, "Com. Pl. Bk.," iii. 139.

† Rimmer, "Ancient Stone Crosses of England," 1875, ix. 113.

‡ Edward Sandys, elected Jan. 25, 1577-8, died at Southwell, July 10, 1588.

§ *Gents. Mag. Lib.*, Topog. part ii. 117.

|| *Ibid.*, 1807, part i. p. 313.

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at this time here, is upon the Roode where races are run." The High Cross escaped the fate of most of the other crosses in the city in 1583, but was torn down by the Puritan soldiers in the following century. In 1804 the remains were discovered buried in the porch of St. Peter's Church, and were taken to Netterleigh House, and there used to form a kind of ornamental rock work in the gardens. They are now restored to their original position, and Chester High Cross once more looks down on the busy life of the city lying below it.

Melton Mowbray had two crosses; they seem to have been placed at the two principal entrances to the town. The following interesting mention of them occurs in an old minute book belonging to the town:

1584 Itm. The stock stone at Thorpe Crosse was sold to John Wythers for towe shillings and towe pense, and to plante or sett one Ashe tree, or a thorne, and to renewe the same till yt please god theye grow.

Itm. The stocke stone at Kettelbye Crosse wt one stone standing, is solde to Willm Trigge for fyve shillings and he to sett a Tree and husband yt till yt growe as abovesaid.

The crosses in Scotland do not seem to have been so elaborate as they were in England, not infrequently they had the unicorn on the summit. The High Cross of Edinburgh stood in the middle of the High Street. It was removed in 1617, a royal pageant then being organised to welcome home James VI. on his first visit to his northern capital after he had succeeded to the English throne; and it was thought the cross would obstruct the royal procession. So far as I am aware there has been no list compiled of the crosses that yet remain in Britain. The crosses of some districts have been accurately and fully described; and scattered about in various periodicals and the transactions of learned societies there is much valuable information to be obtained on the subject, but what is really needed is an exhaustive list of the crosses of Britain, arranged under the counties. A short account of each cross should be given, and especial care ought to be taken to record the existence of the bases or fragments of any kind that are still to be found.

It ought not to be difficult to get some resident in each county to undertake this, the larger counties being sub-divided again, and the result of their investigations forwarded to some

zealous antiquary who would undertake to direct the whole proceeding, and edit the book. Surely some one might be found at once capable of, and with leisure enough, to undertake this most needful compilation. The bells of many counties have been fully described and chronicled; in others the church plate has been made the subject of investigation; the crosses have not been so fortunate, but it is earnestly to be hoped that they may ere long receive the attention they most certainly merit.

FLORENCE PEACOCK.

ART. V.—THE EARLY GALLICAN LITURGY.

PART I.

AT a time when so much is being done in various ways, both at home and abroad, for the reconstruction of liturgical history on a sound basis, it is, perhaps, hardly necessary to apologise for an attempt to throw some light on a branch of the subject which, in England at least, does not appear to have received a due share of attention. In this and a subsequent paper I propose to give some account of the early Gallican or Hispano-Gallican Liturgy, to point out one or two features of this Liturgy which seem to have escaped the notice of previous writers on the subject, and to give some reasons for referring it to a Roman rather than to a distinctively Eastern origin. The subject may also afford an opportunity for saying a few words in vindication of the part taken by the Popes in forwarding or urging the final abandonment of the Gallican and Spanish or Monastic rite in favour of the Roman Liturgy and liturgical system, in the matured form in which it had been left by St. Gelasius and St. Gregory the Great.

By the early Gallican or Hispano-Gallican Liturgy I understand that form of the eucharistic ritual which prevailed in Gaul from about the close of the fourth to about the middle of the eighth century, and in Spain from about the middle of the fifth century to the end of the eleventh. It has seemed best thus to define an initial epoch, partly because what little we know of the liturgical history of earlier times rests upon more or less uncertain inferences, and partly because there is reason to believe that at a time not far removed from the dates which I have specified a very important change was effected in the primitive eucharistic rite—viz., the introduction of a system of variable prayers and formulæ suitable to the successive festivals and changing seasons of the liturgical year.* Within the

* Dr. Probst has set forth at considerable length the reasons which lead him to the conclusion that this change took place in Rome rather sooner than in Gaul, and in Gaul somewhat earlier than in Spain, in his valuable paper, *Die Spanische Messe*, &c., in the *Ztschr. f. k. T.*, 1888. It has been commonly

limits of time thus marked out, documents which are still extant enable us to form a sufficiently correct general notion of the course of liturgical development or decay.

The assumption that one and the same rite prevailed in Gaul and in Spain, at least within these limits of time, rests in part upon the testimony of a letter of Charles the Bald, quoted by Bona and Mabillon, but since lost, in which that king relates how, wishing to know what sort of Liturgy was formerly in use in his own dominions, summoned some priests from Toledo and commanded them to celebrate Mass in his presence according to the rite of that Church.* Much more important, however, than this letter is the circumstance that the liturgical remains of the two countries reveal beyond the possibility of question an almost complete identity of structure which a few differences in minor details can hardly even obscure.

It has been held by many Anglican writers, though not exclusively by them, that the origin of the Hispano-Gallican rite is to be sought at Ephesus, in the School of St. John the Evangelist. Thence it is supposed to have been brought to Lyons, whence it is thought to have gradually spread over the whole of Gaul and of the Spanish peninsula. And so confidently has this view been held that, as if it were a demonstrated truth, the term "Ephesine" has been freely used to designate the Liturgy in question.†

Now it is not, I think, too much to say that the antecedent improbabilities of this Ephesine hypothesis are so great that nothing short of an almost overwhelming array of evidence,

supposed that the Gallican rite maintained its supremacy in Gaul down to the time of Charlemagne. Dom S. Bäumer has shown that it had begun to give place to the Roman Liturgy long before that time. To this point I hope to return in the second and concluding portion of this paper.

* Bona, *de Rebus Liturgicis*, lib. i. c. 12; Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana* in Migne *P. L.* lxxii. 122. I know not on what grounds Dr. Swainson (*The Greek Liturgies*, p. xxxiv.) speaks of Mabillon as having seen this letter. He seems to have merely taken it from Bona. Where the latter found it, or what has become of it since, no one knows.

† Mr. Hammond (*Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. lxii.) has wisely avoided this nomenclature, and prefers the term "Hispano-Gallican," as resting on an assured basis of fact. Even he, however, on grounds which I will presently indicate, thinks that "it is not unreasonable to claim some connection with Ephesus for this group of Liturgies." I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Hammond for the loan of his valuable work, which is out of print, and not easily obtainable.

whether internal or external, ought to be sufficient to gain acceptance for it.

Every liturgiological student is or should be familiar with the thesis, laid down by Dr. Probst as fundamental, that previous to the close of the third century—beyond which period Ephesus can hardly be thought to have exercised any special influence on the Churches of the West—the primitive Apostolic Liturgy had not as yet developed into distinct local rites. But without placing unreserved confidence in this view, we may at least admit that it would be strange indeed if this supposed Ephesine Liturgy, whose very existence is so problematical, and of which no trace is known to have survived in the East, should have taken so firm a root in Gaul, and should have imposed itself for centuries on so large a section of the Western Church. Nor is there, it may be said with confidence, a single shred of positive historical testimony, on which any reliance can be placed, to the effect that such was indeed the case. The words of an anonymous writer of the seventh or eighth century, quoted in Spelman's *Concilia*, have indeed been quoted in this connection.

Iohannes Evangelista primum cursum Gallorum cantavit. Inde postea Beatus Polycarpus discipulus sancti Johannis. Inde postea Hiereneus qui fuit Episcopus Lugdunensis Gallei (*sic*), tertius ipse cursum decantavit in Galleis.*

But apart from the fact that this writer here speaks not of the liturgy, but of the divine office (*cursus*), the whole passage in which this sentence occurs is so full of wild improbabilities, and of perversions of known facts, that it really ought not to find a place in any serious historical argument.† Much stress has also been laid on the 19th canon of the Council of Laodicea, held in A.D. 372, which prescribes a liturgy identical in its main features with that which is still in use in the Greek

* *Concilia*, p. 176. Sir W. Palmer (*Origines Liturgicæ*, i. 157) couples with this testimony the words of Abbot Hilduin, who, writing in the ninth century, speaks of the suppressed Gallican Liturgy as having prevailed in Gaul from the introduction of Christianity (*ibid.* p. 145). Did then all Christianity in Gaul radiate from Lyons?

† If his authority is good for the statement quoted above, it should have no less weight when he says that Trophimus and Photinus, the latter a disciple of St. Peter and Bishop of Lyons, "cursum Romanum in Galleis tradiderunt." He is careful to give his authority: "Sicut et refert Josephus (who was he?) et Eusebius Cæsariensis Episcopus"(!) This specimen may be enough.

Church.* But when it is inferred that this decree implies the previous use of a different type of liturgy, and when it is further argued that this suppressed liturgy was no other than that Ephesine rite to which the Gallican is supposed to have owed its origin, it is impossible not to feel that conjecture is being carried just a little too far for the requirements of sober historical research.†

Antecedently the probabilities are surely in favour of the supposition that as the Churches of Gaul and Spain for the most part derived their origin from Rome, so also they received, or rather brought, their Liturgy from thence; and I hope to show in the course of these pages that the points in which the early Gallican differed from the Roman rite are by no means such as to preclude the hypothesis of a Roman origin.‡

It must be remembered, however, that in claiming a Roman origin for the Gallican Liturgy, the matter in question is the *structure* of that Liturgy rather than the actual verbal contents of Gallican missals and sacramentaries. To state the matter somewhat more precisely, the question of the origin of particular prayers and liturgical formulæ arises chiefly in connection with that portion of the Mass which is invariable, and which in the Roman rite is called the Canon; while as regards the variable elements, we are concerned rather with their order and arrangement, and with their general character and purport, than with the special wording of individual prayers. The ablest defenders of the Ephesine hypothesis have freely admitted that a very large proportion of the Gallican collects have been taken bodily from Roman sacramentaries; but, on the other hand, the staunchest supporter of the Roman origin of the Gallican rite must acknowledge that a very large number, perhaps a

* Hardouin, *Concilia*, i. 783, 784.

† Palmer (pp. 106-110) makes the most of this canon. And Mr. Hammond writes: "There are reasons arising out of a consideration of the 19th Canon of the Council of Laodicea . . . for thinking that an order of Liturgy different from the type afterwards current in Asia Minor, and resembling the Gallican in some respects, had up to that time prevailed in those western parts of Asia Minor of which Ephesus was the principal church" (*Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. lxii., lxiii.—Italics mine).

‡ It cannot indeed be urged that the words of St. Innocent I., writing to Decentius of Gubbio, wherein he asserts that *all* the churches of Italy, Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa, owed their origin to Rome, are of decisive authority, but they are at least of greater weight than inferences based on the testimony of Hilduin, or than the historical exertations of the anonymous writer in Spelman.

majority, of these prayers were composed in Gaul or in Spain. We have indeed the most explicit historical testimony as to the composition of many Masses and liturgical prayers by Gallican and Spanish writers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.* But just as the almost yearly addition of new Masses and offices in our own day does not substantially alter the character of the Roman Breviary and Missal, so neither the composition of numerous Masses, nor even the wholesale borrowing of individual prayers from Roman service-books in the fifth and following centuries, necessarily affected the structure of the Gallican Mass; and—which is more to our present purpose—the recognition of these facts in no way affects the question whether in a still earlier age, the Gallican rite in its primitive form came from Ephesus or from Rome.†

The true relation of the Gallican to the Roman Liturgy may I believe be stated somewhat as follows. In the days when the first Christian missionaries travelling along the great Roman roads carried with them into Gaul and Spain the primitive eucharistic ritual which was at that time common to Rome with the Churches of the East, this ritual contained, as the Liturgies of the East to this day contain, no variable prayers; but one and the same unchanging formula—probably the same in substance which has been preserved for us in the eighth Book of the Apostolical Constitution—was employed in every celebration of the sacred mysteries. In course of time, however, under the watchful and active influence of the Roman Pontiffs, this primitive rite underwent in Rome a process of develop-

* Two instances must suffice. Gennadius (*de Viris Illustribus*, c. 79) says of Musæus of Marseilles: "Excerptis ex sacris Scripturis Lectiones totius anni festivis aptas diebus, responsoria etiam psalmodum" &c., and that later, "composuit sacramentorum et non parvum volumen"—i.e., a sacramentary, containing, as Gennadius goes on to say, suitable prayers and prefaces, or "contestations." St. Isidore says of Peter of Lerida: "Edidit diversis solennitatibus congruentes orationes et missas eleganti sensu et aperto sermone" (*De Viris Illustribus*, c. 15). Peter probably lived in the fifth century (Probst in *Ztschr. f. k. T.*, 1888, p. 13).

† Sir W. Palmer has well expressed the distinction between the structure of a liturgy and the actual contents of liturgical books. "We are not to suppose, when we are informed that Musæus, Sidonius, and Hilary composed books of sacraments, *missæ*, or mysteries, that they effected any change in the liturgy of Gaul. In ecclesiastical writings such expressions imply nothing more than the composition of a variety of collects and prayers for the various feast days," &c. (*Origines Liturgicæ*, i. 147.) Those, however, who first substituted variable for fixed formulæ must be considered to have made a distinctly new departure.

ment, of reconstruction, and at the same time of curtailment, the particulars of which can be brought, roughly speaking, under two heads. In the first place, the daily or weekly repetition of the original unchanging prayers gradually gave place to a liturgical system in which variable collects as well as variable lessons, antiphons, and other formulæ marked the successive seasons and festivals of the ecclesiastical year.* It would occupy too much space to set forth here the reasons which have led Dr. Probst to the conclusion that the initiative in this phase of the process of liturgical reform is to be ascribed to St. Damasus. I must be content to note that the introduction of special or "proper" Masses is intimately connected with the system of liturgical *stations* or solemn assemblies at the tombs of the martyrs, and that with the organisation of this system the name of St. Damasus is honourably and inseparably linked.† Secondly, certain portions of the primitive liturgy were abbreviated, eliminated, or transposed, with a view, as it would seem, to the altered requirements of a time when churches were multiplied and private Masses became usual. To the first of these changes the Liturgies of the Eastern and Greek Churches, which have never possessed variable collects, unanimously testify; presenting as they do,

* We learn from the *Peregrinatio S. Silvie* that a system of variable *Antiphons* and lessons had come into use in the Church of Jerusalem while such a system, it would seem, was still unknown in Gaul. More than once the pilgrim expresses her surprise and delight at the skill with which lessons and chants were selected to suit the particular occasion or festival. "Dicuntur quin etiam et antiphonæ aptæ diei et loco; similiter et lectiones aptæ diei quæcumque leguntur" (*Peregr. Silvie* in Duchesne *Origines du Culte Chretien*, Appendix, p. 483).

† The relation of the "stations" to the Liturgy is well set forth by Fronto Ducaeus (Le Duc) in a passage quoted by the Bollandist Père Sollier in his dissertation on the cultus of St. Mary Magdalen (*Acta SS.* t. v. Julii, p. 201). On the liturgical activity of St. Damasus cf. Probst *Römischen Sacramentarien* (Munster, 1892), pp. 62 sqq. "Vor der mitte des 4 Jahrhunderts war die Liturgie im Allgemeinen die von Justin beschriebene und in den Apostolischen Constitutionem uns erhaltene. Von einer Reform derselben vor dem Vierten Jahrhundert läst sich weder ein spur entdecken, noch ein grund für eine solche namhaft machen." The zeal of St. Damasus in showing honour to the martyrs is known to us not only from the *Liber Pontificalis* (Ed. Duchesne, pp. 85, 212) but also from the very beautiful inscriptions with which he adorned their tombs, and so many of which have been brought to light by De Rossi. That stations were held at the tombs of the martyrs in his time appears from the words of Ammianus Marcellinus, quoted by Probst: "Populus per cæmeteria martyrum stationes celebrabat." That such celebrations received a great impetus from his activity in searching out these tombs (*L. P. l. c.*) may be regarded as certain.

in this particular, an interesting instance of arrested development. As regards the second class of changes, the evidence, such as it is, will be brought forward later. Now while this process of liturgical development and reconstruction was going forward in Rome, a somewhat similar process, going beyond it in some particulars, but in others falling far short of it, brought the Gallican rite into the shape in which it is known to us from documents which go back as far as, but probably no further than, the fifth century. The Gallican and Spanish Churches, influenced no doubt by the example of Rome, likewise introduced into the Liturgy a number of variable collects, prefaces, antiphons, and other formulæ;* but while on the one hand they carried the variations much further than the Roman Church has done, and introduced them—to an extent never tolerated in Rome—even into the very central portions of the Mass; on the other hand they lingered far behind both in the matter of structural reform and in the development of a liturgical calendar. The final suppression of the Gallican rite was, in this view, the extension to Gaul and Spain of a reform whereof they had hitherto only very partially enjoyed the advantages.

The above is, if I understand him rightly, substantially the opinion of Dr. Probst. The question, however, is one which must be determined, not by the extrinsic authority of names, however eminent, but on its own merits. My contention then is that the view which I have thus briefly sketched, though perhaps not capable of being strictly and completely demonstrated, may at least be shown, from the analogy of history and from the internal evidence of liturgical documents, to be indefinitely more probable than the "Ephesine" hypothesis which seems to have such a charm for a whole school of writers in this country.

Before proceeding to describe the *Ordo* of the Gallican Mass, it will be well to give a very brief description of the original sources of information on the subject which are available.

1. Earliest in point of date is a collection of eleven Masses, most of them unfortunately more or less incomplete, recovered

* Dr. Probst gives good grounds for the opinion that this change was introduced into Gaul in the fifth century, and into Spain in the sixth century (*Ztschr. k. f. T. l. c.*).

in 1850 by F. J. Mone from a palimpsest codex of St. Jerome's Commentary on St. Matthew, which formerly belonged to the monastery of Reichenau (*Augia Dives*.)^{*} Of these Masses it must be enough to say that the character of the writing and the theological phraseology employed alike point to a period within the limits of the fifth century, and that they reveal a stage of liturgical development intermediate between the fixed formulæ beyond which the Eastern churches have never advanced, and the collects varying from day to day or from season to season of the ecclesiastical year which are the common characteristic of later Western sacramentaries both Roman and Gallican. The Reichenau Masses were evidently composed at a time when a departure from the fixed prayers of the primitive liturgy was fully recognised as lawful, but on the other hand only one or at most two of them appear to have been destined for use on any particular festival. The rest are of that indeterminate character which marks the *Missæ Cottidianæ* of the later liturgical books, and are related to one another somewhat as the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is related to that of St. Basil, or as the various Coptic Liturgies are related among themselves, any one of them being *per se* equally suited to any and every day of the Christian year. One of the Masses is, with the exception of a single prayer, entirely written in hexameter verse (!); and the whole *libellus*, while witnessing to the antiquity of the structure of the Gallican rite, at the same time testifies to the relatively late development, in Gaul, of what may be called a liturgical *system* in harmony with the ecclesiastical calendar, and also to a dangerous tendency to indulge in long-drawn periods and in gratuitous variations of no special significance.

2. Next in chronological order come two letters or brief tractates of St. Germanus of Paris (*d.* A.D. 576) in the first of which the course or *Ordo* of the Liturgy in use in his time is described with some minuteness.[†] With the letters of St.

^{*} *Lateinische u. Griechische Messen*, hsgb. v. Fr. J. Mone (1850); reprinted in Migne *P. L.* cxxxviii. 855 *sqq.*, and in Neale and Forbes, *Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church*, pp. 1 *sqq.* It may be conveniently referred to as the *Missale Augiense*. There is no need to coin a new adjective *Reichenaviense* (Denzinger) or *Reichenovense* (Neale and Forbes) when *Augiense*, duly formed from *Augia*, has been in possession since the Middle Ages.

[†] Migne, *P. L.* lxxii. 88 *sqq.*

Germanus may fitly be coupled the treatise *De Officiis* of St. Isidore of Seville. Moreover, a series of liturgical allusions in the works of St. Gregory of Tours, which have been diligently collected by Ruinart,* and various decrees of Gallican and Spanish Councils, may be mentioned as throwing light on the history of the Hispano-Gallican rite.

3. We may group together in the third place four Missals or Sacramentaries dating from the seventh and eighth centuries, and known respectively as the Gothic (*Missale Gothicum*), the Frankish (*M. Francorum*), the Gallican (*M. Gallicanum*), and that of Bobbio (*M. Bobbiense*).† With the exception of the last named, these books contain no Scripture lessons and none of them contain either Antiphons (answering to our *Introit*, &c.) or rubrics. In a word they are technically speaking Sacramentaries rather than Missals.‡ No Gallican Antiphony is known to exist, but the information conveyed by the Sacramentaries is largely supplemented by two Lectionaries, one of which formerly belonged to the monastery of Luxeuil (*Lectionarium Luxoviense*) and the other to that of Silos in Spain. The latter, which has been published within the last few months by Dom Germain Morin under the title of *Liber Comicus* s. *Liber Lectionarius* *quo Toletana Ecclesia utebatur*, is thought by the learned editor to represent the liturgical usage of Toledo in the ninth century.§

4. The Mozarabic Missal (*Missale Mixtum secundum Regulam*

* *P. L.* lxxi. 39 sqq.

† The names of the first three rest upon a conjecture of Tommasi, their first editor, as to the region or province to which they respectively belonged. The fourth, called by Mabillon *Sacramentarium Gallicanum Vetus*, may be more conveniently named as above, from St. Columbanus' monastery of Bobbio, to which it formerly belonged. A conjecture that it may perhaps have been brought thither, possibly by St. Columbanus himself, from his earlier foundation of Luxeuil in the diocese of Besançon, hardly justifies Dr. Neale and Bishop Forbes in labelling it with a new title as the *M. Vesontionense*. The *M. Gothicum* contains seventy Masses, the *M. Francorum* only ten, the *M. Gall.*, and *M. Bobbiense* eighteen and sixty-one respectively.

‡ A *Missale plenum*, or *mixtum*—i.e., a Missal in our modern sense of the word—was formed by the fusion of at least three books, the Sacramentary, the Lectionary, and the Antiphony.

§ The four Gallican Sacramentaries and the Luxeuil Lectionary have been reprinted from the earlier editions of Tommasi and Mabillon in *P. L.* lxxii. The *M. Gothicum*, *M. Gallicanum*, and "*M. Vesontionense*" (*sic*) in Neale and Forbes, *op. cit.*, with very valuable marginal notes giving parallels from the Roman Sacramentaries, the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Missals, &c. The *Liber Comicus* (the adjective is formed from *Comes*, the old term for a Lectionary) has recently been published at Maredsous (1893).

B. Isidori, dictum Mozarabes), edited in its present form by Cardinal Ximenes in A.D. 1500, though it contains a great deal which is of relatively recent origin, has faithfully preserved the structure of the Spanish rite as described by St. Isidore; and it is especially valuable by reason of its very full and explicit rubrics, for in the early sacramentaries rubrics are, as has been said, conspicuous by their absence.* Less important, but still by no means to be despised, is the information to be derived, chiefly by way of inference, from the Ambrosian Missal,† from the scanty remains of the early Irish and Scottish Liturgy,‡ and from some of the local usages which survived the Carolingian reforms in certain churches in France.

In our examination of the structure of the Liturgy, it will be convenient to consider separately its two principal parts, the *Missa Catechumenorum* and the *Missa Fidelium*, which take their name from the formulæ of dismissal (*Missa* = *Missio*, dismissal) with which each was originally brought to a close. The division is, as might be supposed from its more archaic character, more strongly marked in the Gallican rite than in the Roman (Gregorian) Mass.

For our knowledge of the course and order of the Gallican *Missa Catechumenorum*, we are chiefly indebted to St. Germanus of Paris, without whose clear exposition the meagre information supplied by the sacramentaries with respect to the part of the Liturgy, would be hardly intelligible.

* It were too long to tell the history of the survival, in a few churches, of the Mozarabic (Spanish) Liturgy. It is now in use only in a single chapel at Toledo. The Mozarabic Missal of Ximenes, with the valuable introduction and notes of Fr. Alexander Leslie, S.J., is given in Migne, *P. L.* lxxxv.

† The earliest printed edition is that of 1475. Liturgical students eagerly await the publication, from a ninth century MS., of a *Missale Ambrosianum Vetus* (edited by Dr. Ceriani of the Ambrosian Library, Milan), of which the Rev. F. E. Brightman, of the Pusey House, Oxford, has most obligingly furnished me with an advance sheet containing the Canon. I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Brightman for his kindness in reading the MS. of this paper, and for several valuable suggestions, of which want of space alone has prevented me from making as much use as I could have wished.

‡ The *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ Celticæ* has been, on the whole, excellently edited by the Rev. F. E. Warren (*The Liturgy and Ritual of the Early Celtic Church*, Clarendon Press, 1881), to whom my best thanks are due for a series of excellent photographic facsimiles of nine pages of the "Stowe Missal." Of this precious liturgical monument, however, Mr. Warren's edition must yield the palm to the admirable monograph and transcript published by the Rev. Dr. B. Mac Carthy in the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. xxvii. (1886), of which most valuable paper I hope to treat more fully in a subsequent article.

The public service commenced, according to the description of this writer, with the *Antiphona ad prælegendum*.^{*} It was chanted by the choir during the entrance of the celebrant, and accordingly, like the choral pieces, it finds no place in the Sacramentaries. The sacred ministers having arrived in the sanctuary, and silence having been proclaimed by the deacon, the *Aius* (*Ἄγιος*) or Trisagion was sung, being followed by the *Kyrie Eleison* intoned by three youthful choristers (*parvuli*).[†] The Cantic of Zachary (*Benedictus*), technically called the *Prophetia*, was next chanted, and was followed by the *Collectio* (or *Oratio*) *post Prophetiam*, a prayer which—as we learn from the Sacramentaries—echoes and emphasises the closing phrases of the Cantic. Then came the Scripture lessons, three in number, one from the Old Testament, one from the Apostolic Writings (Epistles or Acts), and one from the Gospels. On certain festivals of saints, however, the Acts of their martyrdom were read, either in addition to the three Scripture lessons, or in place of the first of them, and from Easter to Pentecost a lesson from the Apocalypse occupied the first place.[‡]

The *Apostolus*, or Epistle, was followed by the Cantic of the Three Children (*Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum*, &c., or *Benedicite*, &c.), and this by a prayer, the *Collectio post Benedictionem* (*sic*), alluding, like the *Collectio post Prophetiam*, to the subject-matter of the Cantic.

The Gospel was preceded by the *Responsorium* and followed

^{*} I say the public service so commenced, for there is reason to suppose that at least in the earliest times there was a short preliminary rite, not of a public nature, in which the elements for the holy sacrifice were prepared (*Cf. Duchesne, Origines du Culte*, p. 195). Such a preparatory service, preceding the *Introit*, and precisely answering to the *Prothesis* of the Greek and Eastern Liturgies, is described in the liturgical tract appended to the Stowe Missal, and in the later recension of the same tract contained in the "Lebar Brecc." The text and translation of both are given by MacCarthy, *l. c.* pp. 245 *sqq.*, and (less correctly) by Dr. Whitley Stokes in the *Ztschr. f. Vergl. Sprachforschung*, 1882, pp. 441 *sqq.*, for a loan of whose paper I am indebted to Dr. MacCarthy. On the preliminary "Preparation and Oblation of the Gifts" in the various early Liturgies eastern and western, there is a very able essay by Dr. Wickham Legg in the *Trans. of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1892, pp. 49 *sqq.*, for a copy of which I have to thank the Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A.

[†] So in the Ambrosian rite: "Tunc Magister scholæ dicit ter *Kyrie cum pueris suis*" (Beroldus in Muratori *Antiqq. Ital.*, iv. 869).

[‡] A single example of a lesson from the *Acta Martyrum* is given in the Luxeul Lectionary on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and another, on the Feast of St. Stephen, in the *Liber Comicus* of Toledo. The latter is a history of miracles wrought at the Saint's intercession, and is either wholly or in part taken from the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine.

by the *Prex* (*sic*) or *preces*, a series of supplications for mercy analogous to the *Ectenê* of the Greek Liturgies. At its conclusion came the proclamation, which already in St. Germanus's time had become a mere formality, that the Catechumens should withdraw, and with this dismissal of the Catechumens the first part of the service (*Missa Catechumenorum*) came to an end.

Such is the description given by St. Germanus of the course or *Ordo* of the first portion of the Gallican Liturgy. Concerning this description, however, two points must be noted. In the first place as regards the succession of the several parts there can be little doubt that some allowance must be made for variety of local usage. Thus St. Germanus places the *Preces* after the Gospel, and this is the position which they occupy in the Mozarabic rite on all the Sundays in Lent except the first. But in the Ambrosian Mass, and on the first Sunday in Lent in the Mozarabic Liturgy also, we find them occurring immediately after the *Ingressa* or *Officium ad Missam*, while in the Stowe Missal the *Deprecatio Sancti Martini** intervenes between the Epistle and the Gospel. Again, whereas in the Gallican Mass as described by St. Germanus the *Responsorium*, like the Roman Gradual and Ambrosian *Psalmulus*, follows the Epistle, the Mozarabic rite places it immediately after the lesson from the Old Testament.

Secondly, it is by no means certain that all the prayers, chants, and formulæ which St. Germanus mentions were in daily use. Indeed the evidence which we have from other sources points to the conclusion that several of them were employed on particular occasions only; a circumstance which must be borne in mind in the comparison which we are now to institute between the Gallican and the Roman *Missa Catechumenorum*.† Such a comparison ought, I venture to think, to leave no doubt in the mind of any student who will investigate the matter for himself, as to the far closer affinity of the Gallican *Ordo* with the Roman Liturgy than with any Eastern rite.

On the correspondence between the Gallican *Antiphona ad prælegendum*, the Mozarabic *Officium ad Missam*, the Ambrosian

* The oldest and fullest extant example of a Gallican *Prex*.

† Dr. Swainson (*Dict. Christian Antiquities*, art. "Liturgies") conjectures that Germanus is describing the Mass on Christmas Day.

Ingressa and the Roman *Introit* it is hardly necessary to insist. They are merely different names for what were in substance the same thing. The deacon's proclamation of silence has indeed long since fallen into disuse in the Roman rite, but we find it in the Gelasian sacramentary; and the *Aius* or Trisagion still survives in the morning office of Good Friday. That, like the *Kyrie Eleison*, it is an importation from the Greek Church is obvious, but as no trace of it occurs in the Clementine Liturgy it seems probable that it was of comparatively late origin. Moreover, the importation of particular items proves nothing as to the origin of the Liturgy as a whole. The singing of the *Kyrie* by children finds its analogy in the quaint Ambrosian ritual drawn up by Beroldus: "Tunc magister scholæ dicit ter *Kyrie* cum pueris suis;" while the word *schola*, here used of the choir, at once suggests a Roman parallel or original. Next comes the *Prophetia* or canticle of Zachary. Of the use of this canticle, it must be admitted, neither the Roman nor the Ambrosian, nor we may add the Mozarabic Liturgy, has preserved any trace. There are, however, clear indications that it formed no part of the Gallican rite in its earliest form, and that its use was always confined to certain festivals or seasons. I argue in the first place from the name of the *Antiphona ad prælegendum*, which clearly implies that originally the lessons followed immediately or almost immediately upon the entrance of the sacred ministers. And a second argument may be based on the infrequency with which traces of the canticle occur in the Gallican sacramentaries. The Reichenau and Frankish Missals each contain only two instances of an *Oratio post Prophetiam*, but as the total number of masses in these missals does not exceed twenty-one, it would not be wise to build too much upon this. But when we find moreover that the *Missale Gothicum* with its seventy Masses also contains only two examples of such a prayer—viz., on Christmas Day and on Easter Sunday—and that in both cases the prayer is specially appropriate to the feast, there seems to be no room for doubt that in the church to which this Missal belonged the *Benedictus* was not in daily use. The Bobbio Missal contains five instances of the *Collectio post Prophetiam*, one for Advent, one for the Mass of St. John Baptist, where the canticle of the Baptist's father was specially appropriate, and the other three for Sunday Masses.

It has been said that we have no evidence for the Roman use of the *Benedictus*, but when it is noticed that this canticle with its accompanying collect occupies in the Gallican rite precisely the same position which the *Gloria in excelsis* and the principal collect hold in the Roman Mass, and when moreover it is remembered how gradual was the introduction of the *Gloria* into the daily liturgical usage of Rome, we may safely infer either that the *Gloria* has ousted the *Benedictus* in the Roman, the Ambrosian, and the Mozarabic Liturgy, or else that the use of the canticle of Zachary was a local peculiarity. Whichever of the two alternatives be accepted as the more probable, the case of the Roman and of the Mozarabic Missal is on the same footing. There is no proof that the *Benedictus* ever formed a portion of the Spanish Liturgy. All that we can say is, that if it did, then it has been displaced by the *Gloria in excelsis*. In the Bobbio Missal we find the *Gloria* and the *Benedictus* side by side, both as it would seem for occasional, and probably for alternative, use. At any rate since the *Benedictus* finds no place in any Greek or Eastern Liturgy, its Gallican use could hardly be seriously used as an argument in favour of the Ephesine hypothesis.

The three lessons from Holy Scripture are still preserved in the Ambrosian rite, while in the Roman Missal they have survived only on the Wednesdays in the Ember weeks. But the present combination of the Gradual with the Tract or with the Alleluia and its versicle supplies—as M. Duchesne was the first to point out—an unmistakable indication that a threefold lesson was formerly the rule and not the exception.* When three lessons are said, the first is followed by the Gradual and the second by the Tract, or *vice versa*, and there can be little doubt that the omission of the first lesson brought Gradual and Tract (or Alleluia) into their present juxtaposition.

The Canticle of the Three Children is still recited in the Roman Mass five times in each year—viz., on Holy Saturday and on the Saturdays in our Ember weeks, and it is followed by the well-known prayer, “*Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium*,” which in the Gelasian Sacramentary bears the title of (*Oratio*) *post Benedictionem*. The Fourth

* *Origines*, p. 160.

Council of Toledo, held in A.D. 633, ordered the recital of this canticle on all Sundays and festivals of martyrs,* but it is remarkable that the Toledo Lectionary assigns it to Holy Saturday only, the Lectionary of Luxeuil to Holy Saturday and Christmas Day, while the Bobbio Missal contains only a single example of a collect to be recited after the canticle, and this collect is the *Roman* prayer "Deus qui tribus pueris," with the partly *Roman* title *Collectio post Benedictionem*.† It should be mentioned, however, that the two Lectionaries, like the Roman Missal, place the *Canticum Trium Puerorum*, not after the *Apostolus*, but immediately after that Lesson from the Prophet Daniel with which it is naturally linked (Dan. iii. 1-51). This usage may, then, be unconnected with the ordinary chanting of the same canticle between the *Apostolus* and the Gospel to which St. Germanus and the Council of Toledo testify. I suspect, however, that the use of the *Benedicite* (or *Benedictus* of Daniel) on particular days led to its more frequent use, precisely as was the case with the *Gloria in excelsis*—originally recited only on Christmas Day—in the Roman Liturgy. This is a point on which it may be hoped that fresh light will be thrown by Dr. Probst, or by the learned Benedictines who in our days as of old are doing so much for the elucidation of early liturgical documents.‡

There remain then only the *preces* to be accounted for, and he would be a bold man who would deny, in face of their survival in the Ambrosian Missal, that the Roman Liturgy once had its *preces* no less than the Gallican.§ Nor is more direct evidence wanting.

* Conc. Tol. IV. cap. xiv. in Hardouin *Concilia*, iii. 584.

† Mr. Brightman, however, here warns me that I have not made sufficient allowance for the presence of distinctively Gallican elements in the Gelasian Sacramentary, and a pamphlet by Dom S. Bäumer ("Ueber das sogenannte Sac. Gelasianum"), which only reached me after these pages were in print, enforces the same warning.

‡ Walafrid Strabo, after mentioning the Toledo decree, says: "Quod Romani propter multitudinem officiorum non faciunt nisi quater per annum, diebus quibus duodecim lectionum numerus adimpletur" (*P. L.*, cxiv. 947).

§ It is impossible here to discuss M. Duchesne's theory that the Gallican Liturgy originated neither in Rome nor at Ephesus but at Milan. I can only say that the hypothesis is devoid of proof, and that the antecedent probabilities are all in favour of Rome. No one, of course, could reasonably deny that the liturgical uses of the various churches mutually influenced one another in various ways, and to an extent which it is impossible to trace at this distance of time.

A well-known letter of St. Gregory the Great to John, Bishop of Syracuse, clearly implies that the *Kyrie Eleison* is merely the survival of a longer *deprecatio*.^{*} And the Gelasian Sacramentary prescribes the *Kyrie Eleison cum Lactania* on the Saturdays of the *Quatuor tempora*.† The *Deprecatio Sti. Martini* in the Stowe Missal is indeed more nearly similar in form to the *Ectenê* of the Greek rites than to any extant Roman formula; but, as Dr. MacCarthy has pointed out, its analogies with the Clementine Liturgy are closer than with the Byzantine forms. And inasmuch as there is the strongest probability that the Clementine Liturgy represents that primitive rite which in the first three centuries was common to Rome with the rest of Christendom, it follows that neither the general use of *preces* in the Gallican rite, nor the *Deprecatio S. Martini* in particular, bespeaks a specially Ephesine origin. It is clear from the words of St. Gregory that in what concerns the form of the *preces* used in the Roman rite, the fullest discretion had been employed in making such alterations or modifications as had seemed fitting to him and his predecessors. Nor can any argument in favour of the Ephesine hypothesis be based on the circumstance that the Gallican *Ordo* contained the *Kyrie* in addition to the *preces*, for, strange as it may seem, there can be little doubt that the *Kyrie* as such was borrowed from Rome. This assertion is based on a remarkable passage in the *Peregrinatio Silvæ*,‡ which incidentally bears witness to the fact that the form *Kyrie Eleison* was not in use in Gaul in the fourth century, but its Latin equivalent *Domine miserere*, precisely as in the *Deprecatio S. Martini*.

It would seem then that the Gallican rite had on the one hand preserved the *preces* in their older Latin form, while on the other it had borrowed from Rome that shorter formula which in the Roman Mass had been substituted for the older

^{*} "In quotidianis autem missis aliqua *que dici solent* tacemus, tantummodo *Kyrie Eleison* et *Christe Eleison* dicimus, ut in his *deprecationis* vocibus paulo diutius occupemur." The reader will remember that in the Morning Office of Holy Saturday, according to the Roman rite, the final *Kyrie Eleison* and *Christe Eleison* of the Litany is the *Kyrie* of the Mass. It would not be safe to lay too much stress on the presence of *preces* in the strangely conglomerate *Ordo Missæ* (probably of the seventh century, and Roman rather than Gallican in structure) discovered by Flacius Illyricus in 1557 (*Martene de Eccl. Ritibus*, i. 176 sqq. Ed. Bassano, 1788).

† Migne, *P. L.*, lxxiv. 1069.

‡ Duchesne, Appendix, p. 472.

preces, as well as the more fully developed litany which on special occasions was added to the *Kyrie*.

So much then for the *Missa Catechumenorum*. The *Missa Fidelium*, it must be admitted, presents at first sight somewhat greater difficulties. Its structure may be most conveniently exhibited in tabular form, the corresponding items in the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies being indicated in parallel columns. In a third column I give St. Isidore's brief description of the seven prayers which he selects as fundamental. I omit from the table the choral portions of the service, answering to the Roman Offertory and Communion Antiphons. These present no special difficulty, and may be regarded rather as accompaniments than as integral portions of the Liturgy. The items to which a number is prefixed are *per se* variable, though in the great majority of Gallican Masses only the first five are "proper" to the day, the remainder having to be supplied from elsewhere, just as in the Roman Missal many festivals have only a single "proper" prayer, others three (Collect, Secret, and Post-communion), while some have proper lessons as well, while very few have a proper preface or special clauses in the Canon (*Communicantes* and *Hanc igitur*).

GALLICAN.	MOZARABIC.	ST. ISIDORE.*
1. PRÆFATIO MISSÆ†	MISSA	Prima oratio admonitionis est erga populum ut excitetur ad exorandum Deum.
2. COLLECTIO SEQUENS‡	ALIA ORATIO	
<i>Recitatio nominum.</i>	<i>Rec. nominum.</i>	Secunda invocationis ad Deum est ut clementer suscipiat preces fidelium, &c.
3. C. POST NOMINA§	POST NOMINA ORATIO.	Tertia effunditur pro offerentibus sive pro defunctis fidelibus, &c.
4. C. AD PACEM§	AD PACEM ORATIO	
		Quarta post hæc inferitur pro osculo pacis, ut charitate reconciliati, &c.

* De officiis, i. 15.

† *Præfatio Missæ*. Not to be confounded with the Roman *Præfatio*, which answers to the Gallican *Contestatio* (No. 5). This prayer often has no title. It is sometimes called *Collectio*, or (apparently) *Missa*, especially in the Bobbio Missal.

‡ *C. sequens*. The title is commonly written *Coll. sequitur*, often simply *Collectio*. (The form *sequens* does not occur.) In the Mozarabic title *Alia* = *Alteræ*.

§ The word *Collectio* only occasionally occurs in these titles.

5. IMMOLATIO MISSÆ S. CONTESTATIO* .	. ILLATIO . . .	{	Quinta deinde inferitur illatio in sanctifica- tione oblationis . . . et Osanna in excelsis cantatur, &c.
SANCTUS . . .	SANCTUS		
6. POST SANCTUS PRIDIE (Canon) † .	. POST SANCTUS (Canon)	{	Sexta exhinc succedit conformatio Sacra- menti, ut oblatio . . . sanctificata per Spi- ritum S. Christi cor- pori et sanguini con- formetur.
7. POST SECRETA S. ‡ POST MYSTERIUM .	POST PRIDIE . . .		
8. ANTE ORAT. DOMINICAM AD ORAT. DOMINICAM	. ORATIO DOMINICA .	{	Ultima est oratio qua Dominus noster dis- cipulos nostros orare instituit, dicens <i>Pater Noster</i> , &c.
9. POST ORAT. DOMINICAM (Non variatur)			
10. BENEDICTIO POPULI .	BENEDICTIO POPULI		
11. POST EUCHARISTIAM .	(Deest)		
12. CONSUMMATIO MISSÆ .	ORATIO		

Now it is obvious at a glance that the liturgical framework here exhibited differs considerably from that of the Roman Mass. A little examination, however, will show that the dissimilarity is by no means so fundamental as it might at first sight appear to be.

It will be noticed that with the exception of the *Benedictio Populi*, which stands alone, and which was confined, I believe, to Pontifical functions, the prayers specified in the above scheme have been bracketed together in groups, and for the most part in pairs. This arrangement, or rather the facts which underlie and justify it, have not, I believe, received sufficient attention from those who have written concerning the Gallican Liturgy. Taking first the groups numbered (1-2), (3-4) and (11-12), a careful examination of the Gallican Masses in the five Sacramentaries reveals the fact—not hitherto noticed—that the first member of each group, that is to say the *Præfatio*, the

* *Immolatio s. Contestatio*. Precisely similar in form to the Roman *Preface*, but much more diffuse and circumstantial.

† *Pridie*. Not called "Canon" in Gallican books, but merely indicated by the words *Qui pridie* or *Ipse enim pridie*. The Mozarabic Canon no longer begins with these words. But the name of the following prayer (*Post Pridie*) shows that the older Canon did so commence.

‡ *Post Secreta*, i.e., after the Canon, which (as the phrase implies) was said secretly, whereas the *Post Sanctus* was said aloud or (as in the Mozarabic rite) chanted.

Post Nomina, and the *Post Eucharistiam*, was originally a hortatory address to the people, a "bidding prayer," or invitation to pray, and that the collect which immediately follows is the prayer which answers to the invitation. This is indicated by the word *sequitur*, which in so large a number of instances qualifies the first and principal collect (*i.e.*, *præmissa præfatione sequitur collectio*), and which, in a few cases, is used also of the *Collectio ad Pacem* and of the *Consummatio Missæ*.* In like manner the name *Præfatio* is in one case used to designate what is commonly called the (*Collectio*) *post Eucharistiam*. A single instance from each of the three groups will be sufficient to illustrate the subject.

Pref. Missæ.†—Christo Domino nostro qui pro nobis dignatus est carne nasci, lege circumcidi, flumine baptizari, . . . fratres carissimi humiliter deprecemur, ut intra Ecclesiæ uterum nos viventes quotidie recreatione parturiat

Collectio.—Sancte omnipotens æterne Deus tu nos convertens vivifica: et quos error gentilitatis involvit agnitionis tuæ munus absolvat

C. post Nomina.‡—Auditis nominibus offerentum fratres dilectissimi Christum Dominum deprecemur; ut sicut pro ejus circumcisione carnali sollemnia celebramus, ita spiritualium nequitiarum inlusione devicta lætemur

C. ad Pacem.—Deus qui magis circumcisionem cordis quam corporis diligis tu nostras aures deseca ne audiant sanguinem, corda ne teneant dolum, oculos ne invadant alienum.

Post Eucharistiam.§—Cibo cœlesti saginati, et poculo æterni calicis recreati fratres carissimi Domino Deo nostro laudes et gratias indesinenter agamus, petentes ut qui sacrosanctum corpus

Consummatio Missæ.||—Sit nobis Domine quæsumus medicina mentis et corporis¶

* *E.g.*, the *Coll. ad Pacem* is inscribed *Coll. sequitur* in the last Mass in the *M. Gallicanum* (Neale and Forbes, p. 204), and the *Consummatio Missæ* is similarly entitled in the Christmas Mass of the *M. Gothicum* (*ibid.* p. 37).

† From the Mass for the Circumcision in the *M. Gothicum* (Neale and Forbes, pp. 45 *sqq.*). The title *Pref. Missæ* is wanting in the MS., as often elsewhere.

‡ From the same Mass.

§ From the Mass for Christmas Day in the same Missal (Neale and Forbes, p. 37). The title of the prayer here is *Post Communionem* in the MS., but more commonly *Post Eucharistiam*.

|| Here inscribed *Collectio sequitur*. I give the more usual title.

¶ A Roman prayer, found in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Neale and Forbes, *ibid.* *margin.*).

I have said that this was the original arrangement, a statement which I think no one will be inclined to question who will take the trouble to go through the Gallican Sacramentaries for himself. But the truth has been obscured by the circumstance that in a very large number of the Gallican Masses even the first bidding prayer, the *Præfatio Missæ*, has lost its original character and has become a mere collect side by side with the *Collectio sequens*.* And as regards the *Post Nomina*, and still more as regards the *Post Eucharistiam*, the retention of the earlier form is the exception rather than the rule, so that in the large majority of cases the group composed of a hortatory address with its accompanying prayer has become simply a pair of collects having no separate and distinct *raison d'être*.†

A few figures may help to set the facts of the case in a clearer light. In the *Missale Gothicum*, if I may trust my own counting, the first prayer has retained its character as a true *Præfatio* in twenty-four cases out of sixty-nine which admit of comparison; the *Post Nomina* in twenty out of sixty-nine; the *Post Eucharistiam* in eight cases out of fifteen.‡ The Bobbio Missal has twenty true *Præfationes* in fifty-seven Masses; the *Missale Gallicanum* only three in sixteen; the *Missale Francorum* not one. In the Reichenau Missal on the other hand, which is, it will be remembered, by far the oldest of the Gallican Mass-books, the *Præfatio*, the *Post Nomina*, and the *Post Eucharistiam* have retained, with only one or two exceptions, their original character as hortatory addresses.§ It

* There is this inconvenience about the title *Collectio sequens* which I have adopted, that it might seem to imply a previous *collect*. I must therefore remind the reader that in the MS. the title, when fully given, is *Collectio sequitur* (i.e., *sequitur præfationem*), which implies not a previous collect but an introductory bidding prayer.

† Thus, in the first Advent Mass of the *Missale Gallicanum*, instead of a *præfatio* and *collectio sequens*, we have simply side by side the Roman collects now used on the first and second Sundays of Advent, "*Excita potentiam*" and "*Excita corda nostra*" (Neale and Forbes, p. 155; cf. p. 213).

‡ Only fifteen of the seventy-one Masses in the *M. Gothicum* have a *P. Euch.* at all.

§ The Masses in this Sacramentary being few and fragmentary, the total number of bidding prayers amounts to no more than twelve—viz., four *Præfationes*, six *Collectiones post Nomina*, and two *Post Eucharistiam*. I may add that in the Bobbio Missal, by a strange perversity, the *Collectio sequens* and the *Collectio ad Pacem* have in one or two cases the hortatory form—e.g., "*Tempus hoc sacratissimum f. dd. . . . celebremus*" (Neale and Forbes, p. 241. See also a *Coll. ad Pacem*, *ibid.* p. 228).

should be mentioned however that in St. Isidore's brief description of the Mass, while the *Præfatio* is still a true bidding prayer, the *Post Nomina* appears to have already, in the Spanish rite, lost that character.

Now, if for the three Gallican bidding prayers we substitute the simpler Roman and Ambrosian invitation, expressed by the single word *Oremus* (or in the case of the *Secreta* by the *Orate fratres*, &c.), we have an arrangement which answers in every particular to the Ambrosian, and in every particular but one to the Roman *Ordo Missæ*; the *Collectio sequens* (Gallican) or *Alia Oratio* (Mozarabic) answering to the Ambrosian *Oratio super Sindonem*, the *Collectio ad Pacem* answering to the Ambrosian *Oratio super Oblata* and to the Roman *Secreta*, and the *Consummatio Missæ* answering to the Roman and Ambrosian Post-Communion, or more strictly, perhaps, to the *Oratio super populum* of the Lenten Masses in the Roman Missal. That the Roman Mass originally possessed a prayer answering to the Ambrosian *Oratio super Sindonem* no one, I believe, seriously doubts; it has indeed left a trace of its former existence in the *Oremus* (followed by no corresponding collect) which the celebrant says immediately after the Gospel or Creed. Nor can there be any question as to the correspondence of the Roman *Secreta* with the Gallican *Collectio ad Pacem*, especially when we remember that in the Sacramentaries, Roman and Gallican, both prayers occasionally bear the title *Oratio super Oblata*,* by which the corresponding collect is invariably designated in the Ambrosian Missal.

For the sake of clearness, these simple results may be exhibited in tabular form:—

GALLICAN.	ROMAN.	AMBROSIAN.
{ <i>Præfatio</i> (Bidding Prayer) =	<i>Oremus</i>	= <i>Oremus</i> (?) †
{ <i>Collectio sequens</i>	(Wanting)	= <i>Oratio super Sindonem</i>
{ <i>C. Post Nomina</i> (B.P.) =	<i>Orate Fratres</i>	= <i>Oremus</i> (?) †
{ <i>C. ad Pacem vel Super</i> }	{ <i>Secreta vel Super</i> }	= <i>Oratio super oblata</i>
{ <i>Oblata</i>	{ <i>Oblata</i>	
{ <i>C. Post Eucharistiam</i> (B.P.) =	<i>Oremus</i>	= <i>Oremus</i> (?) †
{ <i>Consummatio Missæ</i>	= <i>Post Communionem</i>	= <i>Post Communionem</i>

* E.g., in the Gelasian Sacramentary, Migne *P. L.* lxxiv. 1207, and in the *M. Francorum*, *passim*. Compare the *Coll. ad Pacem* in the 37th *Ordo* of the *M. Gallicanum*, "Respice domine propitius ad munera," &c., a prayer which, like many other *Coll. ad Pacem*, is verbally identical with a Roman *Secreta* (Neale and Forbes, p. 202).

† It is not clear from the entries of the Ambrosian Missal whether *Oremus* is said before these prayers. But it is certainly said before the *Pater Noster*, and so may rightly be regarded as an Ambrosian no less than a Roman form.

I have spoken of the old *Oratio super Sindonem*, the Gallican *Collectio sequens* or *ante Nomina*, as being dropped out of the Roman Liturgy. It would, however, be more correct to say that it has been transferred to the present position of the principal collect—viz., after the *Gloria*. For this transference there was a good and sufficient reason. When the dismissal of the catechumens had fallen into desuetude there was no longer any ground for regarding the portion of the service which follows the Gospel as the commencement of the Mass, since all alike were now present throughout. It was natural then to place the principal collect at what was now the commencement of the service for all alike. A curious and instructive instance of this transfer having actually taken place is found in the *Missa Ecclesie Romanæ* of the Stowe Missal when compared with the *Cottidiana Romensis* in the *M. Bobbiense*. The Bobbio Mass embodies the Roman Canon in a thoroughly Gallican framework, with its full complement of collects in their Gallican position. Now every one of these prayers is found also in the first Mass of the Stowe Missal, but with this difference—that the two first collects (i.e., one which in the Gallican *Ordo* ought to be a *præfatio* or bidding prayer, and the *Collectio sequens*) appear in the Stowe Mass in the Roman position, before the Scripture lessons.*

But are we justified, it may not unreasonably be asked, in assuming that the Roman *Oremus* is the truncated survival of an ancient bidding prayer? And it may with confidence be answered that we are. Even had we nothing else to go upon than the evidence supplied by the Clementine Liturgy, we should be led to the conclusion that the earliest type of public liturgical prayers embraced three elements—viz. :

Bidding prayer pronounced by the deacon.

Silent prayer of the worshippers.

Collect pronounced by the priest.†

of invitation. Its retention or omission before a particular prayer is a matter of detail, and its omission would merely be an instance in which the original formula has left a more decided trace of its former existence in the Roman than in the Ambrosian Liturgy.

* The identity of these two Masses has been brought into prominence by Dom Suitbert Bäumer in his admirable paper "Das Stowe-Missale," in the *Zschr. f. k. T.*, July 1892 (cf. MacCarthy, *l. c.* pp. 196 *sqq.*, Neale and Forbes, pp. 206 *sqq.*). I cannot enter here into a discussion of a slight difference of arrangement as between the *prima* and the *secunda missa* of the Stowe book (pp. 196, 7). It in no way affects the main argument.

† This "triformity" (the word is Mr. Hammond's) is or should be obvious

But there is no lack of evidence nearer home than this. Even down to the present day the Roman Liturgy has not entirely abandoned her bidding prayer, of which one example may be found in the petitions which follow the Litany of the Saints, while a still more perfect series of such prayers has survived in the morning office of Good Friday, so familiar to us all. In the latter case, it may be observed the words *Flectamus genua, Levate*, still preserve the memory of the interval which was formerly spent in silent prayer, and which is still prescribed in connection with the collects in the Gelasian Sacramentary.* But these are not the only instances of Roman bidding prayers. The Gelasian Sacramentary contains at least a dozen examples of such prayers, several of which are called by the very name *Præfatio*, which we have found in the Gallican books; while one of them is evidently intended to be prefixed to the principal collect of the day, just as the Gallican *Præfatio* is prefixed to the *Collectio sequens*.† As regards the first bidding prayer there is then no doubt that it represents an early Roman no less than a Gallican usage; though it may freely be admitted as at least possible that in the Roman ritual this prefatory prayer was less frequently employed and (like other portions of the Liturgy) less subject to daily variations than the Gallican *Præfatio*. As regards the formula which introduced the *Collectio ad Pacem* or *super Oblata* the case is yet more clear, for it has survived in the *Orate fratres*, a true bidding prayer, which is daily recited in the Roman Mass. Nor are indications wanting that the Roman Post-communion was also in early times introduced by a bidding prayer. Any one who will turn over the pages of the Leonine Sacramentary can hardly fail to be struck by the frequency

to any one who has carefully studied the Clementine Liturgy (*Const. Ap.*, lib. viii.) ; but I owe to Mr. Hammond the suggestion to appeal to it in illustration of the present matter. The arrangement in the text I take verbatim from a very kind and encouraging letter which I have received from him in connection with this paper."

* *P. L.* lxxiv. 1103, "Adnuntiat diaconus *Flectamus genua*, et post paululum dicit *Levate*."

† *Ibid.*, 1070, 1071, 1084, 1091, 1107, 1133, 1144. (*Præfationes*), 1155 (*Denunciationes*). The *Denunciatio natalitii unius martyris* is in this form: "Noverit vestra devotio sanctissimi fratres quod b. M. illius anniversarius dies intrat Ideoque Dominum conlaudemus qui est mirabilis in sanctis suis," &c. On p. 1244 there is a bidding prayer of precisely the same character with certain Celtic liturgical formulae, which Mr. Warren ("Celtic Liturgy," p. 167) calls "a distinct mark of Ephesine (!) origin."

with which *two* post-communion collects are given; and a closer scrutiny will suggest the conclusion that, in many cases at least, the first member of each pair bears in its construction the marks of having been changed from a bidding prayer into the actual form in which it appears in the sacramentary. A few instances must be sufficient to indicate the direction in which further research may be expected to yield fuller and more satisfactory results. Take, for instance, the opening clauses of the following couples of Leonine and Post-communion collects.

- | | |
|---|--|
| { | 1. <i>Æternæ pignus vitæ capientes humiliter imploramus</i> |
| { | 2. <i>Tuere Domine plebem tuam et beatorum apostolorum defende subsidiiis*</i> |
| { | 1. <i>Sumentes dona cœlestia gratias tibi referimus</i> |
| { | 2. <i>Protege Domine fideles tuos†</i> |
| { | 1. <i>Repleti benedictione cœlesti suppliciter imploramus</i> |
| { | 2. <i>Protector in te operantium Deus respice populum supplicantem‡</i> |
| { | 1. <i>Solemnitatis apostolicæ multiplicatione gaudentes deprecamur</i> |
| { | 2. <i>Presta quesumus Domine Deus noster§</i> |

Now it will be noticed that in each of these instances the first prayer, instead of beginning with an invocation and petition, as the second invariably does, commences instead with the recital of the motive of the prayer followed by *imploramus*, *deprecamur*, *gratias agimus*, or the like. Now we have only to substitute for *imploramus*, *deprecamur*, and *agimus*, the subjunctive forms *imploremus*, *deprecemur*, and *agamus*, and we have in each case a perfect Post-communion bidding prayer of the Gallican type. Take again the following parallels:—

Gallican.

C. post Eucharistiam.—*Sumpsimus ex sacris altaribus Christi Domini ac Dei nostri corpus et sanguinem; credentes unitatem beatæ Trinitatis oremus. &c.*

Roman.

Pc. Sumpsimus Domine sacridora mysteri
Sumpsimus Domine celebritatis annuæ votiva sacramenta
Sumpsimus Domine pignus salutis æternæ||

* Migne *P. L.*, lv. 55. † *Ibid.* p. 75. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 57. § *Ibid.* p. 60.

|| In Mr. H. A. Wilson's valuable "Index to Roman Sacramentaries" (Cambridge, 1892) numerous examples may be found of Post-communion collects in which a very minimum of change would restore them to their original hortatory form. In addition to those commencing as above—*Sumpsimus*, &c.—compare the Post-communions which begin with the words, *Recreati*, *Refecti*, *Repleti*, *Satiati*, &c.

If to these instances we add the tell-tale circumstance that in at least one Gelasian post-communion the hortative form *Oremus* occurring in the body of the prayer has escaped the change into the indicative *Oramus*, it will be I think impossible to doubt that many of the Roman post-communion collects owe their origin to the bidding prayers which once followed the communion and introduced the *consummatio missæ*, just as similar prayers are employed in the Gelasian sacramentary in the *consummatio episcopi, sacerdotis, diaconi*.* The disuse of these hortatory formulæ is of a piece with the elimination of the *preces* and of other proclamations which anciently belonged to the deacon; and the wisdom which dictated their abandonment should be obvious to any one who will consider how unsuitable such formulæ are to private celebrations of the sacred mysteries, and how natural it was that, in the process of shortening the Liturgy to meet the daily needs of the faithful, these formulæ should be among the first to fall out or to be modified in character.

In my next paper I hope to discuss those portions of the Gallican Liturgy which correspond to the Roman Canon; and to give some account of the suppression or supersession of the Gallican and Mozarabic rites in France and Spain respectively.

HERBERT LUCAS, S.J.

* P. L. lxxiv. 1071 (*consummatio episcopi, &c.*).

ART. VI.—EVOLUTION AND ETHICS.

A FEW weeks ago, Professor Huxley lectured in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford before a large and distinguished audience. His subject was in itself sufficiently attractive, even independently of the great reputation of the lecturer, and the title "Evolution and Ethics" was decidedly a "catching" title. Who would not wish to hear such a master upon such a subject? Was he going to expound the obscure laws that govern the "Evolution of Ethics," or, to put the same matter in another way, was he going to lecture upon "the Ethics of Evolution?" Well, the great lecture has been delivered, and is now in print, revised and accompanied by notes and comments. It is, taken all in all, a most interesting document. There are, of course, some signs about it that the great biologist is not quite so well at home in such a subject as in those scientific studies which have occupied so many years of his busy life. The qualities of the specialist are not generally apparent here, and the whole lecture is perhaps more remarkable for its brilliancy than for its depth. Yet the one dominant quality of Professor Huxley's mind, clearness, shines as brightly as ever in this lecture, and if his information appears somewhat scanty and fragmentary, at least there is no possibility of mistaking his meaning, no slight praise when bestowed upon a philosophical composition.

Judging, however, from the various reviews and criticisms which have already appeared, it would seem as if Professor Huxley, in his evident anxiety to be moderate and fair, and to say nothing that might appear out of place in so venerable a place as the Sheldonian Theatre, had somewhat disappointed the expectations of his admiring friends and the apprehensions of his philosophical antagonists. The lecture has received what is called on the other side of the Channel, "*A succès d'estime*," and so far it does not appear destined to arouse any serious spirit of controversy. One plain but sufficient reason for the peaceful result of this campaign lies perhaps in the fact that the "Romanes Lecture" for 1893 is chiefly a

short historical essay, followed, by way of conclusion, by remarks well calculated to increase the difficulty of the riddle described and analysed in the preceding pages, but utterly useless as a contribution towards its solution; the whole ending with a piece of excellent advice, such as we are accustomed to read in the daily newspapers, in their reports of speeches addressed to the young men belonging to mutual improvement societies, athletic clubs, &c., by the distinguished persons who are periodically invited to preside over the annual meetings of those interesting bodies. Yet, in spite of the unexciting character of the lecture, it would be a mistake, we venture to say, to consider it as undeserving of attention by thoughtful persons, above all, by those who are privileged to possess a true Christian standard by which to judge of such a production. The careful perusal of it will strengthen their confidence in the solidity of their own position; but it will more especially supply them with precious weapons in their discussions with non-Christian antagonists; it will show them which points ought to be urged; which arguments should be more particularly attacked; and how weak is the defence likely to be met with when the attack is boldly carried into the enemy's ranks.

As might have been expected, Professor Huxley assumes throughout the truth of the doctrine of evolution as the all but demonstrated solution of the great biological problems raised by the study of Nature. Whether we take the views of Darwin, or those of Wallace; whether we accept the new theory of Professor Weismann, or whether we side against him with Mr. Herbert Spencer, Evolution remains the foundation upon which Professor Huxley means to build his ethical superstructure, and when he speaks of those who attempt to explain the origin of moral sentiments and of all other natural phenomena, by a process of evolution, the Professor tells us plainly: "I have little doubt, for my own part, that they are on the right track." We shall not enter upon any discussion on this point, as we wish to reserve the limited space at our disposal for other considerations. Cosmic evolution, of some kind or other, might become an established fact, from the most elementary nebula to man, and yet all the difficulties raised by man's intellectual and moral constitution would

still remain unsolved, as the Professor candidly admits in the following passage (p. 31):

Cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and evil tendencies of man may have come about; but, in itself, it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before. Some day, I doubt not, we shall arrive at an understanding of the evolution of the æsthetic faculty; but all the understanding in the world will neither increase nor diminish the force of the intuition that this is beautiful and that is ugly.

It is well worth our while to take note of such an admission, for it plainly recognises the hopelessness of finding a logical basis for the supreme postulates of human ethics in the laws that regulate the physical nature of man and animals. Not only are those physical laws of no help; they appear to the Professor himself to be in actual antagonism to what man, when he is able to enter into himself, discovers to be right and just and good in the moral sphere. We must explain our meaning in the Professor's own words. They are well worth quoting:

Man, the animal, in fact, has worked his way to the headship of the sentient world, and has become the superb animal which he is, in virtue of his success in the struggle for existence. The conditions having been of a certain order, man's organisation has adjusted itself to them better than that of his competitors in the cosmic strife. In the case of mankind, the self-assertions, the unscrupulous seizing upon all that can be grasped, the tenacious holding of all that can be kept, which constitute the essence of the struggle for existence, have answered.

For his successful progress, as far as the savage state, man has been largely indebted to these qualities which he shares with the ape and the tiger; his exceptional physical organisation; his cunning; his sociability; his curiosity and his imitativeness; his ruthless and ferocious destructiveness when his anger is roused by opposition.

But in proportion as men have passed from anarchy to social organisation, and in proportion as civilisation has grown in worth, these deeply ingrained serviceable qualities have become defects. After the manner of successful persons, civilised man would gladly kick down the ladder by which he has climbed. He would be only too pleased to see "the ape and tiger die." But they decline to suit his convenience; and the unwelcome intrusion of these boon companions of his hot youth into the ranged existence of civil life adds pains and griefs, innumerable and immeasurably great, to those which the cosmic process necessarily brings on the mere animal. In fact, civilised man brands all these ape and tiger promptings with the name of sins; he punishes many of the acts which grow from them as crimes; and in extreme cases he does his best to put an

end to the survival of the fittest of former days by axe and rope. . . . Whatever difference of opinion may exist among experts, there is a general consensus that the ape and tiger methods of the struggle for existence are not reconcilable with sound ethical principles (pp. 5, 6, 7).

Here then we have clearly stated the view of the learned lecturer. He considers that human reason has been the direct outcome of a successful struggle for existence, a struggle rendered successful by the possession of ape and tiger qualities of a superior order. He asserts further that those precious qualities became in time actual defects, and are even now the one great obstacle to the assertion of sound ethical principles amongst us.

We are at once confronted here with several difficulties, which the lecturer considers no doubt beneath his notice since he omits all reference to them.

It follows from his theory that the more our prehistoric ancestor asserted his simian or feline origin by outdoing, like a true man that he already was, the cunning of the ape and the ferocity of the tiger, the more he was elaborating within himself and preparing for his progeny the germs of those milder dispositions and rational promptings which distinguish man in a state of civilisation. Our personal experience is rather different: we find that at present the more a man indulges in "ape and tiger methods," the more like a tiger or an ape he becomes; then, according to Professor Huxley, the case was reversed; those methods led to the acquisition of gentler feelings and to more rational conduct. From this view it would seem to follow that superior "ape and tiger activity" within man has positively resulted, not in a strengthening of the dispositions which led to this activity, but to the weakening of these dispositions together with the eventual production of other dispositions actually antagonistic to them, so that it can be said with Professor Huxley:

what we call goodness or virtue involves a course of conduct which in all respects is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence. In place of ruthless self-assertion it demands self-restraint; in place of thrusting aside or treading down all competitors, it requires that the individual shall not merely respect, but shall help his fellows; its influence is directed, not so much to the survival of the fittest, as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive (p. 33).

Such are the paradoxical assertions to which are driven those who attempt to derive reason from sense, humanity from animality, moral virtue from physical feeling. But the Professor shows more candour than logic when he himself insists, as in the passage just quoted, upon the radical, absolute antagonism that subsists between one state and the other. How then does he hope to reconcile his views with the well-known saying, "*Nemo dat quod non habet*"?

No, we do not believe in the Professor's theory. Indeed, we believe in the struggle he describes—it is only too real; as St. Paul puts it, "I do not the good which I will, but the evil which I hate that I do."* We must believe in that painful struggle; but instead of imagining, like the lecturer, that one combatant has produced his own antagonist, we think it more rational to admit that both adversaries have always coexisted in man, now, alas! as adversaries, once as allies. Nor do we give the name of sins, as the lecturer erroneously suggests, to any ape and tiger motion which for a moment obtains the mastery within us in spite of us. These evil motions, though they are called the "law of sin," because, as Catholic theology teaches, they come from original sin, and violently tempt and incline to sin, nevertheless, as long as our will does not consent to them they are not sins, in the technical sense of the word, because they are not voluntary.

So, curious enough, our doctrine is, in a sense, in more intelligible harmony with the evolutionary principle of the "struggle for existence," than is the view propounded by Professor Huxley himself. A struggle for existence that tends to produce the enfeeblement of the most successful, and to generate the engine of his destruction, would be a misnomer. On the contrary, in our view, the struggle is indeed a struggle for real supremacy, if not for actual existence. The two competitors, animal passion and concupiscence on the one hand and reason on the other, struggle really for the mastery, and the victory of one inevitably carries with it the temporary or permanent weakening of the other. The more play is allowed to one power, the stronger, the more aggressive it becomes; on the contrary, the more subdued it is, the less free its activity is

* Rom. vii. 15.

permitted to be, the feebler, the less formidable will it show itself. All this is just what we should expect, according to ordinary biological laws. The weakening or total loss of sight may immensely increase the sense of hearing or the sense of touch, as commonly happens with the blind, not of course by producing new senses, but by indirectly increasing the physiological demand upon senses already existing. Stimulation in living organisms means growth and development; absence of activity means weakness and ultimate degeneracy, if not disappearance. No one knows this better than Professor Huxley himself. Yet his theory can hardly be reconciled with these biological principles.

Again, we are not told in the lecture how man, full of those successful ape and tiger instincts, that had just brought him specifically to the fore, was led to become social and actually to lay the foundations of his future civilisation. The question is not without certain difficulties. What is there in the nature of things that thus prompted the most anthropoid of all apes, the most splendidly ferocious of all tigers, to become gregarious, pastoral, agricultural, social altogether? If reason dictated such a conduct, then reason, however dim and feeble, must have coexisted in pre-social man with the above-mentioned instincts, acquired qualities if you like; and the first glimmerings of social life must have represented in him a first victory of reason over mere animal impulses. Social instinct may have led to social groupings, it cannot have resulted from them. If, on the contrary, as Professor Huxley teaches (p. 6), "the deeply ingrained serviceable qualities" of the ape and tiger only became defects *after* man's "civilisation had grown in worth," then we are at a loss to understand how those "qualities" ever allowed a social state to be reached at all! They ought to have proved an insuperable obstacle, seeing that the ape and tiger methods are in constant opposition to those ethical principles without which no society can long continue to exist, supposing it can begin to be formed at all. Professor Huxley is here attempting, it seems to us, a hopeless task, just like that statesman who, under the influence of a theory, would attempt to establish peace and order in a country by gathering together into one executive assembly or council the most inflammable, excitable, unprincipled politicians in that country, hoping that out of their

endless quarrels, constant scenes, financial incapacity, and selfish individualism, peace and plenty would at once naturally follow. The Professor was right indeed when he told his audience that cosmic evolution brought us no nearer to a solution of the great ethical puzzle. It only brings us to a standstill. We do not understand how Ethics began to find a home in the human breast, seeing that all in it represented the triumph of methods absolutely opposed to Ethics, according to the theory before us.

It is unnecessary for us to assure our readers that Professor Huxley can lay no claim to originality when he thus affirms the absolute necessity of curbing the ape and tiger instincts within us if we are to attain any degree of ethical perfection. While refuting the opinion of Socrates—namely, that all principles of human action are without any exception or contradiction under the absolute control of reason—St. Thomas of Aquin, following Aristotle, said, many centuries ago :

This hypothesis of Socrates is without foundation, for the senses in us obey indeed the dictates of reason, but not altogether with perfect obedience; hence Aristotle says that reason has over the lower nature of man only a sort of political authority, like that of a master who directs children in whom there resides a certain power to resist his orders.*

Hence, according to the great mediæval philosopher, man, to act rightly, is not only in need of a well-ordered reason, he must also possess (by laborious acquisition in his present circumstances) that well-ordered disposition of his lower nature which good moral habits alone can impart to it. Reason and sense: this dualism of Aristotle and of St. Thomas of Aquin is the only way of escape out of the great difficulty so ably stated by Professor Huxley before his Oxford audience, but left by him hopelessly unsolved after all.

The conclusion of the Professor's lecture is neither cheerful nor encouraging. The theory of evolution, he tells us, with some sadness in his tone, "encourages no millennial anticipations." We cannot arrest by any efforts of our own the inevitable decay in store for us as for everything else in this universe, nor can we "imagine that a few centuries will suffice to subdue the masterfulness (of our human nature) to purely ethical ends." What

* "St. Th. Summa Theol." 1a 2ae. Quest. I.VIII, a. 2.

are a few centuries compared with the millions of years that were required to build up our "ape and tiger qualities"! Thus "ethical nature may count upon having to reckon with a tenacious and powerful enemy as long as the world lasts," adds the lecturer, and on this point we entirely agree with him. Here then is failure, cosmic failure painfully but frankly admitted. The force that raised us into being has spent so much time in bringing us up to the present point, that no sufficient time will remain to evolve all the possibilities of our actual state! This is sad indeed. Waste, sheer waste on the most gigantic scale, is then the supreme law of nature. No wonder that the notion of a wise and beneficent Creator is so objectionable to those who can bring themselves to read in this fashion the life of the universe and the laws of progress. This conclusion of the Professor's lecture might be borrowed with advantage by any one engaged in writing an apology of Pessimism. Yet Professor Huxley does not like to leave us under such an impression. He feels somehow that it would not do. He therefore assumes—without attempting to show how the idea flows logically from his premises—he assumes that "the proportion of good and evil in life may be very sensibly affected by human action." Granted; but how can that be without some kind of freewill in man, and how is the notion of freewill reconciled with the "ethics of evolution"? We venture to say that the Professor would have dealt with that very obvious difficulty if he had had the faintest hope of being able to solve it. Anyhow, he declares that "so far forth as we possess a power of bettering things, it is our paramount duty to use it and to train all our intellect and energy to this supreme service of our kind" (p. 31). We know that in the end the whole effort will come to nothing, but we must do something nevertheless. Here poetry comes very opportunely to the rescue to get us over this ugly consideration:

It may be that the gulfs will wash us down,
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,

. . . . But something ere the end,
Some work of noble note may yet be done.

The *may* which recurs again and again in those lines gives a delightful vagueness to the whole vision, and is

well in keeping with the theory here advocated. But the lecturer "deems it an essential condition of the realisation of that hope that we should cast aside the notion that the escape from pain and sorrow is the proper object of life" (p. 37). Yes, there is the rub. We have to persuade ourselves, at any rate, it would be very advantageous if we could persuade others who toil and labour for us, that that notion must be cast aside. But is there any chance of our succeeding in bringing about such a persuasion among men? Are the ape and tiger promptings within them to be so easily subdued by the cheerless prospects held out to them by the distinguished lecturer? Such advice will not be taken seriously, it will not be endured patiently. A few people, in good social circumstances, with education, sufficient means, and a philosophical turn of mind, may like to entertain these views, and no doubt may find it a pleasant occupation to lecture upon them, but the great mass of the people, uneducated, groaning under the sense of daily wants, and feeling the constant burden of painful, uninteresting labour, will take a very different view of the situation. They will think, and considering the Professor's teaching, very logically too, that to escape pain and sorrow is, if not the whole object of life, at any rate a very considerable object in it, and they will shape their conduct accordingly. It is with ethics as with land-tenure. We cannot feel any desire to spend our time and resources upon valuable improvements, when we cannot tell how long we are likely to remain in undisturbed possession of our holding. We barely live on from day to day, feeling that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Thus we see that the academic performance of Professor Huxley is fraught with most serious consequences, not only in the sphere of speculative ethics, but also in that of practical sociology. Of the propriety of supplying such intellectual and moral food to young men at present studying at one of our great Universities, much doubt has, perhaps, already arisen in the minds of our readers. Is this healthy teaching for those who are only beginning to face life and its responsibilities? Is it calculated to deepen their sense of duty, their sympathy for their fellow-men, and their love of work? or is it not more likely to leave them aimless, discouraged, and a prey to the insidious suggestions of flesh and blood? The truth is the truth, some

will say, and there is no good in disguising it. Quite so, but this remark only applies to those verities, so assured, so carefully tested and so universally recognised that it would be mere hypocrisy to pretend to ignore them. Will anyone seriously say that the conclusions propounded by Professor Huxley last month in the Sheldonian Theatre belong to the category of demonstrated theorems? Are they not rather mere speculative views which have been familiar to men for much more than 2000 years; views which nearly every philosophical school has discussed and examined, attacked or defended; views which have occurred almost inevitably to every man who has given himself, even superficially, to the study of the great problems of life; views that are always with us but never take final hold of mankind because, in the end, mankind seems to recoil almost instinctively from their terrible ethical consequences? No! such views do not form a proper subject for an academic display. They may still supply, and no doubt will supply, material for discussions in philosophical clubs and debating societies, as long as the world lasts, but a very different sound ought to be given by men in Professor Huxley's position when lecturing in such a place as the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford. Intellectual superiority and moral influence lay very grave responsibilities upon the shoulders of those amongst us who happen to possess them. We cannot, therefore, help regretting that the Professor, in his "Romanes Lecture," did not more carefully attend to his own principle, namely, the duty of using every means in our power to affect the proportion of good and evil in this life (p. 30), to increase the good and to diminish the evil. This was no doubt the Professor's intention; he failed, perhaps, because he, in common with those who share his opinions, possesses no criterion whereby to know for certain what will finally tell in favour of good or of evil in human action; in other words, what is ultimately tending in this life towards real human happiness. We are but as the blind leading the blind when deprived of the light which is able "to enlighten every man that cometh into this world."

L. M. BAYNARD KLEIN.

ART. VII.—QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE REVOLUTION.

I.—HER INTRIGUES WITH THE HUGUENOTS, 1558-1563.

MANY years ago, the Protestant historian Guizot gave proof of much honest discrimination, when he expressed his conviction that the religious crisis of the sixteenth century was not merely a religious, but essentially a revolutionary movement.* It would be well if the champions of the so-called continuity of the Church of England and its oneness with the Catholic Church of pre-Reformation times, would consent to profit by the learning of their co-religionist and cease to fight for a position which has over and over again been clearly proved untenable.

Among all the arguments brought forward by the Reformers, it never once occurred to any of them to pretend, either in England or abroad, that the change they had effected was not a radical change. The word Catholic, so dear to the Anglican heart, was an abomination to them.

So long, said Admiral Coligny, as the Queen of England stands fast in the Protestant religion, so long will many States of Christendom decline from Catholic religion, and especially her countenance will be the occasion that France being won thereto, the rest of Christendom shall follow.

If the revolutionary character of the Reformation was disguised at home by the protection lent to it by the throne, Elizabeth's foreign policy and her alliance with traitors and rebels in France and the Netherlands show beyond all doubt, that revolt from hitherto recognised authority, spiritual and temporal, was the very backbone of the movement.

In France, the Huguenots were far less a sect than an army. They were divided into twenty-four groups, each having six chiefs, to whom they paid a yearly tribute of 800,000 francs. They could muster in four weeks from seven to eight thousand horse, and twenty-five thousand foot soldiers, a number which

* "La Civilisation en Europe," p. 356.

the King of France could not bring into the field in less than four months.* According to Michele, the Venetian envoy, obedience to their superiors was exacted with greater severity than among the Turks.

I am at a loss, wrote Tavannes in his Memoirs, what to call the Huguenot faction; it is not altogether a popular nor altogether an aristocratic movement, but is both in a measure. It is a republic in a monarchy, of which it will work the ruin, neither being able to continue its existence without the destruction of the other.

Carrero, another Venetian envoy, divided the Huguenots into nobles, burghers, and the people, the first-class being simply ambitious, the second lucre-loving, the third ignorant.

Their spiritual guides sprang from the people, were animated with a blind fanaticism, and taught openly that taxes were an abomination, that nobility was a delusion, and that feudal exactions were non-biblical. They urged their hearers no longer to live and die, as their ancestors had done, in besotted ignorance of the people's sovereignty.† Such words would not have seemed out of place in the mouths of the Sans Culottes and Terrorists of 1792. One day Francis I. was threatening to imitate the example of Henry VIII. "Sir," replied the Papal legate, "you would lose more than the Pope, for a new religion requires a new king."‡

At first the Huguenots had laid claim to religious toleration in self-defence; but as they grew stronger, they gradually dropped the plea, and when opportunity presented itself, were more pitiless towards Catholics than Catholics had ever been towards them. It was one of their tenets, that should the king prove hostile to the reform, he was to be treated as the obscurest of criminals, hence the doctrine of tyrannicide taught at Geneva, and developed in the writings attributed to Theodore Beza.

This celebrated Huguenot belonged to a respectable French family; his father, a devout Catholic, had educated him for the priesthood, and he took his licentiate degree at the age of twenty. Although not yet in holy orders he held several benefices *in commendam* according to the lax custom of the day. From

* Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, "Les Huguenots et les Gueux," vol. i. p. 31.

† Monluc, "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 366.

‡ Brantôme, vol. iv. p. 294.

his master, Melchoir Wolmar, who introduced the principles of the Reformation into France, he imbibed his first notions of heresy, and became subsequently one of the most influential and eloquent disciples of Calvin. He was, indeed, next to Calvin, the moving spirit of the Huguenot faction ; all that was done by them was directly or indirectly the result of Beza's influence, and he had attained this remarkable power over men's minds as much by his learning, wit and zeal, as by his unscrupulous choice of means for the furtherance of the new gospel. He was fond of quoting the Bible, but ancient Roman history was made to serve the Huguenot cause even better, for without any distortion of the text, he could point to the assassination of the tyrant Cæsar, by Brutus the patriot. Agrippa d'Aubigné was also in the habit of recommending a book entitled "*Junius Brutus, or a Means of Defence against Tyrants*," a work which treated of the limits of obedience due to kings, and of the circumstances under which it was allowable to take arms against them.

In August 1559, a secret assembly was held at Vendôme, composed of the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, Coligny and his brothers, together with other prominent Huguenots. Their chief subject of deliberation was a proposed rising, in order to deliver the King Francis II. from the so-called oppression of the Guises ; in other words, to usurp the authority exercised by the king's uncles, and to wield it themselves. The king was to be in reality a prisoner in their hands, and all the Guises were to perish. Coligny promised the support of the whole Protestant party, but even then the number of troops which the rebels could bring into the field would be insufficient without the help of the Queen of England, because Philip II. was always to be reckoned with, in a question of the defence of the Church and the monarchical principle. He would, they knew, be ready with a strong contingent of men and money, and double the actual resources of the King of France. A little later, a more important assembly met at Nantes, consisting of Huguenot zealots, and personal enemies of the Guises. Barry, called *La Renaudie*, was their chosen representative. An ex-Catholic, convicted of forgery, he had been set at liberty by the Duke of Guise, and allowed to retire into Switzerland, from whence he had gone to England, where Elizabeth had given

him tokens of her favour. To him, according to Castelnau, was confided the mission of exterminating the whole Guise family. Some of the conspirators went so far as to declare that the entire line of Henry II. who had so cruelly persecuted the Gospel must be sacrificed, and a new monarch inflamed with the Divine Word set up in their place. By this they meant that Condé should be raised to the throne. Their plan was to seize the king, then at the Château of Blois; but the conspiracy was so badly organised that the plot was discovered immediately; the king removed to his strong castle of Amboise, and a number of the rebels were captured before even an attempt was made on the fortress. Some were executed, but many escaped to form new plots and finally to deluge France with blood.

Meanwhile Catholic Europe was standing at gaze, astounded at Elizabeth's audacity. Paul IV. thought it incredible that a bastard should have any pretension to a throne which was considered a fief of the Holy See, and his attitude was not such as to mollify her. For two years after her accession, the Venetian Government was totally unrepresented in England, and this state of things would probably have continued much longer, had not the Venetian merchants resident in London, fearing the extinction of their trade, elected a vice-consul on their own responsibility. The King of Spain, it is true, was willing to overlook the stain on her birth, and was even ready to marry her, but she must first pledge herself to remain faithful to the religion she had sworn that she professed. But to win either the Pope or Philip necessitated acts of humiliation, to which Elizabeth was by nature averse. She weighed the relative advantages of submission and defiance, and concluded that even alone she would be a match for all her enemies. Her effrontery, combined with the ability and unscrupulousness of her Ministers, succeeded in such a manner as to render her, within a short time a power in Europe. Contempt was turned into respect for her cleverness and fear of her cunning, if not into admiration for her conduct and policy. At this distance of time, it is clear to those who do not wilfully blind themselves, that every one of Elizabeth's public actions bears the distinct mark of revolution. Not only did she resolve to swim with the tide of innovation that had set in,

but having committed herself to the Revolution she became the enemy of all that was stable. She would have no Church of hers founded on the immutable Rock of Peter, and she had as little reverence for monarchical institutions as for the Papacy. Her strength, she knew well, lay not in any confraternity with the crowned heads of Europe, but in her own indomitable will, leagued with the new spirit of restless unfaith which claimed for itself licence to question all law both human and divine. Thus, however much Elizabeth might play the despot at home, she could only hope to make her power felt abroad by means of intrigue. The circumstances of her accession played into the hands of the Huguenots, and furnished them with an opportunity of open revolt. For thirty years they had gloried in persecution, making immense capital out of their sufferings, but with the advent of Elizabeth, their protestations of submission and loyalty came to an end, and the first-fruits of their emancipation are to be seen in the above-mentioned conspiracy of Amboise.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador in Paris, with a shrewdness equal to Elizabeth's own, saw at once the advantage that might be gained by secretly espousing the cause of the Huguenots, while he appeared to be on the side of loyalty and order. It must, however, be owned that the disguise was of the thinnest, and that before long he was suspected of connivance with the rebels. Concerned in various plots under Queen Mary, he had been tried for high treason and acquitted, although public opinion still pronounced him guilty. He was at Westminster at the time of Mary's death, snatched the royal ring from her finger, and hastened with it to Hatfield. Active, adventurous, unscrupulous, and according to the Spanish ambassador, adapted for any nefarious intrigue, he perceived that the divisions from which France was suffering might become the foundation of England's future greatness. His correspondence with Elizabeth and Cecil contains some of the most interesting relics of the age. For importance, his letters may rank with Chapuys' despatches in the reign of Henry VIII., although in Throckmorton, the man of the world and the courtier being swamped in the politician, his communications, startling though they are, will be found wanting in the fascination of Chapuys' lively gossip. They introduce us into

a labyrinth of plots and counter-plots, but while events take place as it were before our very eyes, the actors in the drama are either veiled or headless statues, for he is scarcely ever to be diverted from business for an instant, to record a *bon mot*, or describe a person, or give that playful or sarcastic or sympathetic touch which breathed life into the people about whom Chapuys wrote. Throckmorton is totally devoid of humour as he is lacking in resources. While the Imperial envoy knew a hundred devices for toying with an awkward question, keeping the shuttlecock jumping up and down on his own battledore, till it suited him to send it whizzing back to his adversary's, Throckmorton had no other way out of a difficulty but by telling a lie or by going to bed and feigning illness. Neither was his patriotism of that lofty type which scorns to arrive at a noble end by ignoble means, and if he dreamed of the restoration of Calais, that once brightest jewel of England's crown, he cared little by what loss of honour the restoration was brought about. In truth, chivalry and highmindedness were a little out of date when Elizabeth mounted the throne.

Our divisions, says Castelnau,* have been fomented and kept up by the perpetual intercourse Throckmorton had with the Admiral and those of his party. A man of great energy, he took the occasion by storm, neglecting all that belonged to the office of an ambassador, who ought to maintain peace and amity, to side against the king, persuading the Queen of England that her opportunity lay in the quarrels of the French, and that she would have not only Normandy, but also the greater part of the kingdom of France, to which the kings of England had formerly so much pretension, and which they lost by the union of the French people!

The grievance was well founded. On March 21, 1560, Throckmorton wrote to Elizabeth: "The moment has come to throw our money about; it will never have been spent more usefully."†

The chief means he employed in his efforts to extract money from his parsimonious mistress was the fanning of her resentment against the Guises for having proposed, on the accession of Francis II., that he should be proclaimed King of England. To Throckmorton's very natural disgust, whenever he dined at

* "Memoirs," l. v. ch. i.

† Forbes, "Public Transactions," under this date.

the French Court, he was obliged to eat off plate bearing the arms of England, France and Scotland quartered, with the style: "Francis and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of France, Scotland, England, and Ireland." Nevertheless, he was not ignorant that the English sovereigns had quartered the arms of France ever since they had possessed an inch of French soil; and he was well aware that to none but Elizabeth, sensitive as she was to the stain on her birth, and to any questioning of her right to reign, would the pretext constitute a sufficient ground of complaint. He was, however, determined to make the most of it, and assured the Queen that the assumption of her arms by the French monarchs was no mere empty show, but that they were resolved to prosecute Mary Stuart's title to England, and that his mistress's service would not be much set back if she licensed him to come over to her, post haste, to speak with her, as in these cases he could not well commit to writing what he had to say. He added that he had seen the like done in cases of less moment in her father's time. If she consented to his leaving, he desired to know whether he was to make the French King privy, or to accomplish the journey covertly.*

He wrote to Cecil in the same strain, but rather more at length, according to his custom. The result of this communication was a letter from Elizabeth, dated October 11, 1559, telling him to come to England to visit his wife, who was "sick with ague, and in more fear than danger," they trusted. And he was to come by post to see her, for her comfort and remedy; and as this might seem somewhat strange to the French King and his Ministers, she commanded him to declare the matter to his Majesty, the Cardinal of Lorraine, or the Duke of Guise. He was not to remain in England more than four or five days, and was to return to his place with like speed.† Cecil kept up the fiction by remarking to Throckmorton on the Queen's goodness to his wife, who indeed, was not so well in health as Cecil could wish.

The upshot of this interesting visit does not transpire; but Throckmorton went to England again in January 1560, and on

* Stevenson, "Cal. State Papers," Foreign Series, Sept. 24, 1559.

† Forbes, i. 251.

his return to Paris, wrote to Elizabeth's Council, warning them against the men who ruled France, and hoping that the Queen "will beat the iron while it is hot, and show her greatness."^{*}

On another occasion, he urges that the English never had a better time "to do with these men" than the present, not only to bring them to terms, but to provide that "thereafter we have little cause to fear them," and he hopes that "the Queen will not stick at the spending of a little money in sending to and fro."

Throckmorton's absences, in spite of the dust thrown in the eyes of the French Government, gave rise to suspicion. The Cardinal of Lorraine told him that they had given the world matter to talk, and to think that the amity between the King of France and Queen of England was somewhat doubtful. After some awkward fencing on Throckmorton's part, and bitter complaint on the Cardinal's, the latter detailed the manner in which Elizabeth had supported the French rebels, who by a parliament of a few, sought to order the kingdom for themselves, wherefore the King, for example's sake and for his own honour, was constrained to use force against them. He further asked what there was in this, that could be construed into want of friendship for the Queen of England? Might they not chastise their rebels without offence to her? Throckmorton answered that he did not know that the Huguenots were rebels, and that the English had great cause to doubt the preparations of the French for war, however the Cardinal might colour the same. Finally, the Cardinal asked whether Elizabeth meant to assist the rebels in their doings, "which it would not be well for her to do, for divers respects," and Throckmorton assured him that *there was no speaking of it as contained in his instructions.*

The English ambassador then made a formal complaint on the subject of the Queen of France bearing the arms of England. The Cardinal appeared to be much surprised at the grievance, asking why, if the Queen of England bore those of France, should not his mistress quarter the English arms, being of the same House? Throckmorton then asked what had moved the kings of France in times past to ascribe the arms of England

* Stevenson, "Cal. State Papers," Foreign Series, 1560-1. No. 685.

to themselves, and the Cardinal replied that being at war with England, they spared nothing that might touch the honour of the English. "But," exclaimed Throckmorton, "they were at war with Mary; why, then, should they offer this insult to Elizabeth, by whose means they have peace?"

He went on to protest that if Elizabeth had consulted her own interests more than the peace of Christendom, she might have retaken Calais, and King Philip would then have made no peace without England. The Cardinal knew, he said, what interest England would have had in the continuance of the war, being joined with so puissant a Prince.

"Here," observed Throckmorton, "he (the Cardinal) put his finger to his nose, and scratched it, where I think it did not itch."*

But throw what dust he might, the English ambassador did not deceive the Guises, who were well informed of his transactions with the Huguenots. Nevertheless, the interview ended with protestations of friendship on both sides, and afterwards Throckmorton had an audience with the King, and presented Elizabeth's letters. Francis inquired politely whether his mistress were fond of hawking and hunting, and without appearing to give the interview anything of a business character, contrived to sandwich between remarks purely ceremonious, a request that the French hostages might be remembered. He was then taken to the Queen mother, with whom was present the young Queen Mary Stuart. After some compliments exchanged with Catherine, the ambassador turned to Mary, who exclaimed: "The Queen, my good sister, may be assured to have a better neighbour of me, being her cousin, than of the rebels, and so I pray you signify unto her." This might equally apply to France and to Scotland, for Elizabeth's policy was singularly consistent in all that related to foreign matters, being a very simple process of stirring up strife between subjects and their lawful rulers. Her answer was with her accustomed vagueness, that she wished all causes likely to breed dissension between herself and the French King redressed. She complained of the assumption of her style and arms by his wife, and gave her ambassador power to appoint commissioners

* Throckmorton to Elizabeth, Feb. 27, 1560. R. O.

to treat of the subject. She next expressed her willingness to disarm if Francis recalled his forces from Scotland; and if the Scotch nobles refused to live in obedience to the French King and his wife, she promised to use her persuasion or authority to induce them to do so. The discussion ended at last, but with mutual distrust, the French continuing to arm themselves by sea and land, the English cruisers boarding and plundering French ships with impunity, while Elizabeth's promises regarding the rebels remained sterile.

Meanwhile, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise wrote to the Queen Dowager of Scotland, saying that Elizabeth kept them in constant alarm lest she should begin the war, showing by all her dealings with them that she was "stirring the coals." Nevertheless, she had given them "the fairest words in the world, whereunto the King of France has not so much trusted, but that he has informed the King of Spain of all that she has done."

Matters of religion, they went on to say, had gone so far in France that within the last twelve or eighteen days, a plot had been discovered to kill them both, seize the King, and give him masters and governors to bring him up "in that wretched doctrine."

Many, however, had been taken prisoners, and they hoped now that the matter was "bolted out and the danger avoided."^{*} This referred to the famous conspiracy of Amboise, for which Elizabeth was so largely responsible.

But in spite of all that had been done in France by the rebels, on the strength of her understanding with them, she did not "stir the coals" enough to please Throckmorton.

In order to induce her to take some definite course, he wrote that the Guises had a pestilent and horrible device to poison her by means of an Italian named Stefano, "a burly man with a black beard, about forty-five years of age," who had gone into Germany, and thence into England, to offer his services to the Queen as engineer. We hear no more of this terrible black bogey, but Throckmorton and others knew well the particular shape Elizabeth's fears assumed, and whenever it was desirable to rouse her to a decision some such

* Stevenson, "Cal. State Papers," 1560. No. 879.

story as this had to be invented. It became at last so common a stratagem to declare that the Catholics had a plot for poisoning her saddle, her gloves, or her shoes, or that the agents of Philip and the Guises went about with envenomed daggers lying in wait for her, that it is a wonder she did not grow incredulous from constant repetition of the same stories. Her terror of assassination was as long-lived and unreasoning as her vanity, and it seems to have been as difficult for her to give people credit for ordinary good faith and honesty, as it was for her to express herself simply or to act unequivocally.

It was inevitable that rumours should reach the French Court of the scandals which were taking place in Elizabeth's household, and Throckmorton, writing with real or feigned indignation to the Marquis of Northampton,* wishes that he "were dead or hence," that he might not hear "the dishonourable and naughty reports made of the Queen, which every hair of my head stareth at, and my ears glow to hear." He is almost at his wit's end and knows not what to say.

One, he says, laugheth at us, another threateneth, another revileth the Queen. Some let not to say, "What religion is this, that a subject shall kill his wife, and the Prince not only bear withal but marry with him, rehearsing the father and grandfather."

He goes on to say :

All the estimation the English had got is clean gone, and the infamy passes the same so far, as his heart bleeds to think upon the slanderous bruits he hears, which if they be not slaked, or if they prove true, their reputation is gone for ever, war follows, and utter subversion of the Queen and country.

He concludes by begging his correspondent to slake these rumours, praying that God may not suffer the Queen to be *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*, and takes his leave with weeping eyes.

On the same day that this letter was written, Killigrew, the Scottish ambassador, in answer to a complaint of Throckmorton's, writes to him :

I cannot imagine what rumours they be you hear there, as you write so strange, unless such as were here, of the death of my Lady Dudley, for that she brake her neck down a pair of stairs, which I protest unto

* Stevenson, "Cal. State Papers," No. 623. Oct. 10, 1560.
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you was done only by the hand of God, to my knowledge. But who can let men to speak and think in such cases.

On October 15, he again writes that there were "lewd rumours," but that "nothing could be more false," and on the 17th, he adds that they were "very rife" in England, but that the Queen had said "she would make them false."

Nothing, however, was done to punish those who circulated the reports, and naturally weak denials only acted as stimulants. Throckmorton was beside himself with mortification, and reiterated his entreaties that the tongues might be silenced, declaring that, "if the bruits respecting the death of Lady Dudley and the Queen's marriage with Lord Robert," were not silenced, God and religion would be out of estimation, the Queen discredited, and the country ruined and made a prey.*

To Chamberlain, Elizabeth's ambassador in Spain, he writes on the 20th of October, that his friends tell him the Lord Robert's wife is dead, and has by mischance broken her own neck, but that in Paris it was openly bruited her neck was broken "by such other appurtenances," as he is withal brought to be weary of his life, and so evil are the reports that he is ashamed to write them.

Throckmorton was shrewd enough to know that these reports could not be without foundation: hence the reproachful bitterness of his tone, so much more prominent in his letters than any indignation at the malice of slanderous tongues. But, however good the grounds were for concluding that Lady Dudley's death had been compassed by her husband and his paramour, the tongues were apparently at fault in relating that Elizabeth was already married to Dudley. If she ever did marry him, the event probably took place in 1562. The Spanish ambassador, Alvaro de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, in whom the bishop was almost entirely merged in the diplomat, secretly favoured Dudley's ambition from purely political motives. The favourite's hopes rose and fell with the arrival and departure of every fresh suitor for his mistress's hand, but he considered himself within measurable distance of reaching the coveted prize when at length he succeeded in obtaining a conditional promise from Philip II. that he would help him to

* Stevenson, "Cal. State Papers," No. 685.

win it. The condition was that Dudley should undertake to recognise the authority of the Council, to which all Europe was now anxiously looking forward. On the feast of St. John the Baptist, 1561, he invited the Queen to a splendid fête on the Thames. Together with the Spanish ambassador, they entered a magnificently decorated barge, and there the greetings exchanged between the two lovers seem to have called forth some perfectly well-grounded scruples on the part of de Quadra. Dudley, seeing the prelate's abashed look, and turning towards Elizabeth, exclaimed, "As we have a bishop on board, why should he not marry us?" De Quadra replied that he would do so willingly, but that the Queen must first re-establish religion, and shake off the yoke which was weighing upon her and upon England, for it had come to this, that she found it impossible to marry without Cecil's permission.*

Rather more than a year after this episode, it was positively asserted that a secret marriage had been performed at the house of the Earl of Pembroke, where Elizabeth and Dudley had spent the day together. On her return to the palace with him the same evening, her ladies asked her whether they might not also kiss his hand, to which she replied evasively, that they were not to believe all they heard.†

Meanwhile, Francis II. had died, and the crown of France had devolved on his brother, a child only ten years old. In England it was expected that Catherine de Medici, who had enjoyed but little power under the government of her eldest son, now being supreme, would have chosen the King of Navarre for her principal adviser. She did in effect make advances towards him, but committed herself to no policy until it was clear to her on which side her interest lay. She professed indeed to uphold the Guises, who, if they were ambitious, were ever found loyal to the king, the country, and the Church; but at the same time she raised the hopes of the Huguenots by affecting to consult Coligny in matters of some weight and importance. She was quite prepared to go much further, if fortune turned the scale in their favour.

"Would you continue to obey the King if he became a

* The Bishop of Aquila to Philip, June 30, 1561. Belgian Archives.

† The Bishop of Aquila to Cardinal Granvelle, July 11, 1562. *Ibid.*

Huguenot?" she asked of the Constable of France and the Marshals St. André and de Brissac.

"No," they had replied; and by their firmness perhaps saved France from a line of heretical kings.

In the south, where the Huguenots were the most numerous, they showed that they had nothing to fear. They assembled freely, knowing themselves to be secure, thanks to their relations with Elizabeth and her faithful agent, Throckmorton. At Vassy, the Duke of Guise was insulted, and wounded by a stone thrown at him during a Huguenot sermon in the open air. His servants retorted by drawing their swords. It was the beginning of the civil war. Everywhere, the Huguenots donned the white casaque, the badge of their cavalry. Having assembled at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, Condé led them to Orleans, and the famous city of "La Pucelle" became the capital of Huguenot France.

The Duke of Guise held Paris, which was Catholic to the core, for the king, who remained at the Louvre with the Queen Regent. The relations between mother and son at this period were unnatural in the extreme. Catherine was more than a match for the Queen of England in her duplicity and cruelty, and there is one point in her character which overlaps all we know of Elizabeth's potentialities of wickedness—namely, her systematic persecution of her second son. During the life of Francis II. she had confided him to the care of a Huguenot nurse, thinking that in order to balance parties in the State it would be well to make the king's brother chief of the Huguenots. Francis dying without issue, Charles became king, and his governor, M. de Cipierre, seeing that he showed signs of noble qualities and the stuff of which great kings are made, talked to him of nothing but glory and greatness. Later on, his tutor, Jacques Amyot, fostered his love of arms and the taste for literature, which he preserved through all the storms of his short and troubled life. But Catherine trembled for her own power in seeing him develop capacities which would shortly enable him to take the reins of government into his own hands; and she conceived the diabolical plan of stunting his intelligence and stifling all that was noblest in his nature. She removed him from all his former surroundings, and placed him under the care of the Italian Gondi, with instructions that he was to darken and lower the boy's

intellect, and cultivate his grosser instincts. It must be owned that Gondi carried out these instructions faithfully. He taught him to swear and to blaspheme, to flatter and betray. For his intellectual studies he substituted jumping and racing. The practice of arms was neglected, and Charles lost his bodily grace and dexterity, and became rough, awkward and boorish. He was encouraged to pass his time in playing blind man's buff, and other childish games, and his natural inclination for study was ridiculed. He became violent, lazy, and averse to mental effort of any kind. More cruelty was to follow, for while pride and vanity were fostered by every means, he was deprived of the innocence which belonged of right to his tender age.

Later on, knowing that as a result of this training, every duty would give way to the young king's inordinate passion for hunting, Catherine fixed those days for the assembling of her council on which she ascertained that he had decided to hunt. In this manner she could count on his never being present when she transacted the business of the State. All this was done that Catherine might enjoy to the full her lust of power, and that the Duke of Anjou, her favourite son, small in stature, small in mind, and small even in his vices, might profit by the imbecility inculcated in Charles.* The Duke of Anjou was brought up to look with favour on the Huguenots, through whose suffrages he was to attain renown. "I am the little Huguenot," he was accustomed to say; "soon I shall be the great Huguenot."

While Condé was playing the king at Orleans, the Parliament declared the rebels guilty of high treason, and condemned them to death, confiscating their goods. In vain did Condé protest and appeal to Elizabeth and Throckmorton. Not content with either protests or appeals he busied himself at Orleans with coining money with the gold and silver of altar vessels, and melting the church bells to provide himself with cannon.† According to Mézeray, the sacrileges everywhere committed by the Huguenots roused in the people feelings of horror and indignation, for in all places where they

* Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, "Les Huguenots et les Gueux," vol. ii. p. 5 *et seq.*; Brantôme, vol. v. p. 240; vol. iii. p. 287.

† Niccolo Tornabuoni, July 6, 1562.

had become masters, they smashed the images of saints, threw their relics to the winds, profaned the altars and the sacraments, and outraged priests and religious, so that all that history has recorded of the horrors perpetrated by the Goths was effaced by the atrocities of the Huguenots.

If Condé was more prominently active at this time, Coligny was by no means idle. In the course of the year 1561, he had several interviews with Throckmorton in the forest of Fontainebleau. In one of these he confided to the English ambassador all that had passed in a recent meeting of the Council, scrupulously begging that Elizabeth alone might be informed of his revelations, as he had been lately reproached with revealing State secrets.*

In the midst of these calamities, Catherine, who was very well informed of Throckmorton's intrigues, seemed at one moment disposed to chastise the traitors. She sent an army against Condé, commanded by the Duke of Guise, and appealed to Philip for help against the enemies of France and the Church. The army was allowed to advance as far as Châteaudun, and the negotiations with Philip had gone beyond mere preliminaries, when it occurred to her that to call in the Spaniards was a pill too bitter to be swallowed, and she resolved on an interview with Condé. She made a clever, and for the moment a successful appeal to his patriotism, so that, struck with remorse, he declared himself vanquished.† So sure was Catherine now of victory, and of a reconciliation with the Huguenots, that she caused a *Te Deum* to be sung at Vincennes, and the Spanish negotiations came to an abrupt end. But Condé was not proof against Coligny's fanaticism, backed by Theodore Beza, who accused him vehemently of faithlessness to a work begun by God himself. Condé was wax in Beza's hands; he repudiated all his promises to the Queen Mother, and declared himself in favour of a continuance of the war, while Beza went to Germany and thence into Switzerland to recruit soldiers for the impending campaign.‡

Catherine was stupefied at the result of her policy, but

* Throckmorton to Cecil, April 17, 1562. La Ferrière, "Le XVIe. siècle et les Valois," p. 52.

† "Mézeray," vol. iii. p. 78.

‡ Throckmorton to Cecil, July 23, 1562.

Charles, furious at losing such a valuable prize, was in favour of making terms with the Huguenots at the price of any humiliation. "Condé," he exclaimed petulantly, "is one of the arms of my body; my body needs his two arms."* The gain to the Huguenots was immense, and they were not slow to profit by their advantages. From this moment there is a marked increase in the insolence of their tone, and the high-handedness of their cruelties. Coligny, writing to his brother from Orleans, says: "We have hung the curé of Saint Paterne; we treat the Papists differently now to what we used, and we have resolved not to spare them in future." He told him to take advantage of all the means that presented themselves, the sack of Paris being one of them. Hotman, moreover, informed the Elector Palatine, as an inducement to him to send reinforcements, that Condé would give the city up to the Germans to pillage, adding that such a prospect ought to attract large numbers of them.

Although the Germans were to have Paris, the English share of the booty was by no means inconsiderable. In return for the help Elizabeth had promised, she was to fortify the cities of Normandy, and to keep them for herself, Rouen, Havre and Dieppe, being accounted by Throckmorton as good as Calais, and worth fighting for.† Hitherto all the negotiations between Elizabeth and the Huguenots had been of a tentative nature; henceforth they assumed a more determined character, and a deputation was sent from Condé, composed of the Vidame de Chartres, Briquemart, and La Haye, to treat formally of the invasion of France by the English. This was followed by the more important embassy of the Cardinal de Châtillon, of infamous memory. It must be admitted that the main bulk of the Huguenot party, rebels though they were, had the greatest horror of bringing the enemy of their country into France; nevertheless the necessity of such an act was preached to them from every pulpit, and with such vigour that they had no choice but to stifle their scruples. If possible, additional turpitude is added to the proceedings by the fact that in an interview which took place between Throckmorton

* Chantonay, June 17, 1562. Nat. Arch., Paris, 1498.

† Throckmorton to Elizabeth, July 27, 1562.

and Chautonnay, brother of Cardinal Granvelle, the English ambassador took pains to assure him that the Queen of England intended to remain neutral, at the very time that she was haggling with the French rebels over the price of Calais. Catherine's behaviour was even less edifying. Her want of energy in punishing such of the disaffected as fell into her hands, caused suspicion that she secretly favoured them, and it was remarked that she was constantly surrounded by professed or secret Huguenots. But they set little store by her favour, considering her supposed leanings toward them, and her hesitation to chastise, as mere confessions of weakness. All their hope lay in Elizabeth, however much she trifled with them and sought to evade the day of reckoning. Besides a large sum of money, they called upon her to supply ten thousand foot, and as many horse soldiers. This she declared to be excessive, and would only undertake to send six thousand infantry, no cavalry at all, and no more than a third of the subsidy they demanded.* Finally, by the terms of the treaty of Hampton Court, which was signed on the 20th of September, 1562, Elizabeth agreed to pay Condé 100,000 gold crowns, in exchange for which she was to fortify and hold the town of Havre until he should put her in possession of the most brilliant jewel of the French crown, the celebrated town and fortress of Calais.†

In England an official proclamation gave out that the army which stood in readiness to cross the Channel was to be sent into France for the sole purpose of succouring Charles IX., while a second proclamation announced that the English troops were about to occupy certain ports on the coast of Normandy, in order that being so close to England they should not fall into the hands of those who would constitute a danger to the country. The Queen's intention was not, the proclamation went on, to make war on the King of France, but to defend the towns and ports nearest to England against the first authors of the troubles on the other side of the Channel, against those who had placed themselves above the King, and who wished to pursue their unjust and violent designs against England.‡

* Forbes, vol. ii. p. 35.

‡ Cotton MSS : Calig. E.V. fol. 174, B. M.

† Harl. MSS. vol. ii. p. 177.

A third proclamation declared that Elizabeth was minded to assure liberty of conscience in France, protect the Christian king, her very good brother, and his subjects, and her own realm.* This sounded plausible, and was greedily devoured in England, but Throckmorton told Elizabeth, that Condé was well aware that the Huguenot name would be covered with infamy if the King lost the flower of the Duchy of Normandy.† And the Cardinal of Lorraine expressed not only a national feeling, but one in accordance with universal right reason and good faith, when he declared Condé and Coligny to be traitors, by the fact of their introducing into France the greatest and oldest enemies of their country.

Charles IX. had just made his triumphal entry into Bourges, reconquered by the Duke of Guise, when the news arrived that the English had landed. The Queen Regent was still bent on negotiating, but the Duke of Guise dictated to the young king a letter to Elizabeth full of dignity and unanswerable logic, throwing upon her the responsibility of the war, and remonstrating with her for harbouring the Vidame de Chartres and the other seditious envoys of the Huguenots, in spite of the conditions of the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis. He then led the French army towards Rouen, to prevent, if possible, the occupation of the ancient capital of Normandy by the English, already in possession of Dieppe. As for the Vidame, he was, he confessed, "*sad usque ad mortem*," to be obliged to deliver up his country to foreigners, and added, "*ego deficio sub onere*," admitting that the Huguenots had accepted the sacrifice of their honour. Later on, a good pension from Elizabeth appeared to dispel his sadness and to satisfy his conscience.‡

Meanwhile the Duke of Guise pressed the siege of Rouen. The Huguenots, who held the town, awaited in vain the arrival of the Germans, and in vain Lord Grey, under cover of the night, introduced five hundred English soldiers into the fortress; resistance was only prolonged for a few days, and the place was taken by storm on the 25th of October. The King of Navarre was killed in the *mêlée*.

* La Ferrière, "*La XVIème siècle et les Valois*," p. 76.

† Throckmorton to the Queen, Sept. 24, 1562.

‡ "*Le XVIème siècle et les Valois*," p. 79.

While these scenes were being enacted in Normandy, Condé was leading an army, strengthened by German Reiters, towards the walls of Paris. A prayer, composed by Theodore Beza, was recited every day in the camp, to call down the blessing of God on the Huguenot Prince. "They hoped," said Throckmorton, "to restore order in the capital;" that is to say, "to sack it," according to Coligny's promise to the Germans. This was easier said than done, for Condé never succeeded in doing more than harass the outskirts; the Huguenots had few friends in Paris, and the hopes of their leader continued to lie on the coast of Normandy. On the 21st of November he wrote to Lord Robert Dudley that God, having given him the grace to arrive within eight or nine hours of Paris, he awaited further succour from England. The reply was a letter from Cecil to his agent Thomas Smith: "You can tell the Prince of Condé that the money promised him will be at the Havre in ten days."* But by this time the Huguenots had learnt that Elizabeth was far more ready to pay in men than in money, and acting on Coligny's advice, Condé resolved to raise the siege of Paris, and make his way into Normandy where, thanks to reinforcements from England, and a fresh levy of Germans, they flattered themselves they would retake Rouen. On the 10th of December, therefore, Condé's soldiers set fire to their quarters and marched on Dreux. The Catholic army had also been strengthened with a contingent of Spanish troops; but even at this advanced stage of affairs the Queen Regent could not be induced to act with firmness or to give up her one refrain at every crisis—negotiation. She still relied on her power to soften Condé's heart towards his country, and a message to him having proved unavailing, she sought a personal interview. Her estimation of his character was on the whole correct; once more he wavered, and such was the alarm inspired by his hesitation, that Throckmorton advised Elizabeth to withhold all further help till it were known what he would do. His indecision was not, however, so great that it paralysed all action; he continued his march towards Dreux under the impression that 4000 English had left Havre to form a junction with him, and nothing

* Wright, "Elizabeth and Her Time," vol. i. p. 102.

appeared likely to intercept his progress. Nevertheless he had a dream, announcing, as he told Beza, that a struggle was imminent, and the next day the two armies having met suddenly, an engagement took place under the walls of Dreux. The Duke of Guise seized the command when the Constable of France was taken prisoner, and changed an almost certain defeat into a brilliant victory. "That night," says Chantonnay, "the Duke slept in the same bed with Condé, his prisoner, as if they had been the best friends in the world."* Even his adversaries could not but admire the chivalry and delicacy with which the conqueror treated the vanquished.†

The battle was fought on December 19, and on the 24th, the Duke wrote to Philip II. to express all that he owed to the courage of the Spanish troops placed at his disposal.

The Catholic army was victorious, but the prisoners of war were about equal on both sides, and if Elizabeth had been faithful even to her treachery, the odds would have been almost equally divided. But notwithstanding promises and treaties, added to Throckmorton's prayer to "scatter a little money," not one crown of the stipulated hundred thousand had been paid, and the Huguenots were in dire need of funds to carry on the war. It was this fact, as much as the actual victory, that strengthened the hands of the Catholics. Beza, who had been present at the battle of Dreux, had counselled the death of the chiefs of the Catholic army who had been taken prisoners, and Coligny had consented, provided that exception were made of the Constable, his uncle. The Marshal Saint André was murdered in cold blood.

When the defeat of the Huguenots became known, Throckmorton fled to Nogent-le-roi, and took refuge with the Duchess de Bouillon, who, however, gave him up the next day to the Duke of Guise. With his accustomed courtesy, the Duke made him dine with him in his tent, and in the course of dinner, he asked the ambassador what he thought of the battle. After chatting agreeably for some time, the Duke reminded him of his alliance with the insurgents of Orleans, and consulted him as one of the principal instigators of the

* Letter of the 21st of December, 1562. Belgian Archives.

† Theodore Beza, "The Story of the Campaign," book vi.

troubles, in the choice of remedies to be applied, inquiring whether Elizabeth would continue to set the bad example of abetting the king's subjects in their rebellion.

"But does not Philip II. interfere also?" broke in Throckmorton.

"Yes," replied the Duke, "but with this difference, that the King of Spain supports the king against the rebels, whereas Elizabeth supports the rebels against the king."

The papers found upon Throckmorton compromised him so deeply, that seeing his share of the responsibility clearly established, he flung away the last vestige of his disguise.* There was no longer any pretence of neutrality on the part of the Queen of England, and the situation was perhaps unique—that of a country being at war with a sovereign whose ambassador was not recalled. And notwithstanding all, such was the generosity of the Duke of Guise, that Throckmorton was at once set at liberty.†

On receiving the news of the victory of Dreux, Catherine went with her son to Nôtre Dame to return thanks. The next day there was a solemn procession in honour of the event, but at the same time the Queen Mother charged her agent in London to protest to Elizabeth that the battle had been fought at the instigation of the Parisians, and in spite of her orders.‡ In keeping with her strange and vacillating policy throughout, Catherine's sole aim was even now to treat with the Huguenots and their allies. Elizabeth answered by offering to give up the places she occupied in Normandy in exchange for Calais. But at last some spark of justice and regard for the honour of France seemed to kindle in Catherine's bosom, and she began to realise that it was too much to concede in her hour of triumph what she had refused to give up throughout her reverses.

Hostilities were therefore resumed, and the Huguenots seeking to avert an attack which they had reason to fear, at once set fire to the arsenal of Paris, where a great quantity of powder was stored. Fifty houses were destroyed, and more than three hundred persons perished.

* Chautonnay, *Lettres Missives*. Belgian Archives.

† Forbes, vol. ii. p. 251.

‡ Letter from the Bishop of Aquila, December 27, 1562. Belgian Archives.

There was a rumour current that the Huguenots, when they were beaten, had recourse to assassination, and during the reign of Francis II., a popular prophecy had foretold that when the fortune of the Duke of Guise should be at its height, he would be struck down by a pistol shot.

Months before the blow was aimed, his death was decreed at an assembly held in the palace of the Elector Palatine at Heidelberg, the Duke of Würtemberg's being the only dissident voice. Francis of Guise was to meet his death in the midst of his most brilliant achievements. On the day of his triumphal entry into Rouen, a Huguenot was discovered lurking in the camp. On being questioned, and seeing that all was lost, he admitted boldly that he had come there for the purpose of assassinating the Duke, from no personal enmity, but guided alone by zeal for his religion. His intended victim dismissed him with these noble words :

"If your religion teaches you to assassinate those who have never offended you, mine teaches me to forgive my enemies."*

After his triumph at Dreux, his death was publicly prayed for in the Huguenot conventicles. Preachers called down the vengeance of heaven upon him, and Theodore Beza appealed aloud to God to deliver France from him.

Condé, from his prison in the Château of Loches, charged his brother the Cardinal Bourbon to warn the Duke of Guise that his life was in danger, and so certain was he of his doom, that every morning for a fortnight he inquired of his guards whether the Duke were not killed or wounded.†

The honour of doing to death the Catholic champion was reserved for a young gentleman among the Huguenots named Poltrot, who was one day overheard by his chief the Vicomte d'Aubeterre, to express regret that the King of Navarre did not fall by his hand. The Vicomte, conceiving that he would be a useful instrument for the crime already decreed, sent him to his brother-in-law de Soubise at Lyons. De Soubise had at one time been prosecuted for mal-practices with the public money and had owed his escape from punishment to François de Guise. It was a reason the more with the fanatical Huguenot for getting rid of one whose very

* Duplex, p. 655.

† Chautonnay, February 27 and March 2, 1563. Belgian Archives.

existence reminded him of his crime. He sent Poltrot to Coligny, who welcomed him with these words: "Monsieur de Soubise tells me that you desire greatly to serve religion; serve it well then."

It was the manner agreed upon for Coligny to make known to Poltrot that his offer was accepted, and he gave him some money. The "useful instrument" then went to the Duke of Guise and offered him his services, which were accepted. But Poltrot was not yet so hardened in crime as to be entirely proof against the courtesy and generosity with which the Duke treated him. Three times he begged of Coligny that he would release him from the terrible obligation he had incurred, and three times Coligny strengthened him in his resolve. The admiral at last sent him to Beza, who told him that he might act with an easy conscience, that angels would be present at the deed, and that if he did not succeed (passing on to the death which awaited failure) he would go straight to heaven.*

Poltrot then hastened to the Duke of Guise before Orleans, and after making a low bow, said that he had been seduced into following the Prince of Condé, but that now seeing the error of his ways he came with the firm purpose of serving the king faithfully for the rest of his life.

Surrounded by treachery on every side, the Duke had never learned to be on his guard against his enemies. Himself frank and loyal in the extreme, there was something child-like in his confidence that these qualities were not mere professions in others, and although he knew himself to be the object of supreme hatred among the whole Huguenot faction, he was lamentably incapable of suspecting individuals. He received Poltrot kindly and even affectionately, and invited him to his table, thereby nearly upsetting again the would-be assassin's newly infused principles. However, another visit to Beza, and a present of 100 crowns from Coligny to buy a horse, brought him finally to the "sticking point," and with the promise that if he succeeded in escaping, he was to be the richest man of his house, he resolved to go in and win.†

On February 18, 1563, at dusk, Poltrot, hidden behind a hedge, discharged three bullets into his victim's body. The wound

* La Ferrière, vol. i. p. 516.

† "Lettres d'Etienne Pasquier," liv. ch. xx.

was not deep, but the balls were poisoned. The murderer got away at once, on the horse bought with Coligny's gold, but having ridden all night, he found himself at dawn close to the camp he was flying from. Paralysed with fear, he hid himself in a peasant's hut, but the occupant remarking his confusion gave him up to some archers from the Royalist camp.* When questioned, he confessed that he had been moved to the crime by Beza's persuasion and Coligny's gold.†

Cecil's agent, Thomas Smith, also testified to the incentives. He wrote to Elizabeth on February 26, that de Soubise had first tempted Poltrot, and that Theodore Beza had completed his conquest.‡

The Duke's agony lasted for five days, during which he edified all who approached him by his resignation and unaffected piety. In touching terms he confessed aloud the sins of his past life, and without naming Coligny, whom all regarded as the chief author of his death, he said, "I forgive you who are the cause of my undoing." He breathed his last on February 24, and on March 20, his funeral honours were celebrated with great pomp in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame at Paris.

According to Thomas Smith, there was but one unanimous voice in the camp in praise of the Duke of Guise and in mourning for his untimely end. "He was," declared the writer, who will not be accused of partiality, "not only the greatest soldier in France, but in all Christendom. Inured to fatigue, of great military experience, courteous, eloquent and generous, he was beloved equally by officers and by the common soldiers."§

A terrible chastisement awaited the authors of the crime; the young Duke of Guise swore not to die till he had avenged his father's death. "A day will come," wrote the English agent, "when Coligny in his turn will be assassinated in expiation of the murder of the Duke of Guise." That day was the terrible feast of St. Bartholomew 1572. Coligny was at Caen with Throckmorton and Beza when the news was brought of the death of his greatest enemy. He expressed neither

* Chautonnay, February 23, 1563. Belgian Archives.

† *Ibid.* February 27, 1563. Belgian Archives.

‡ Forbes, vol. ii. p. 329.

§ *Ibid.*

regret nor emotion, and sent the message on at once to the Queen of England. Nevertheless when he heard that he was everywhere considered the author of the crime, he felt obliged to write to Catherine and justify himself. In this letter, he admitted that Poltrot had revealed his intention to him, and that he had given him money to buy a horse to enable him to escape, and instead of expressing regret for what had happened, he judged that it was the greatest blessing that could be. Etienne Pasquier observes that Coligny defended himself so coldly that his friends wished he had said nothing or had expressed himself better.* If it were true, as has been asserted, that Poltrot subsequently retracted his accusation of Coligny, there would have been no case at all against the Admiral, and he would not have been forced to make the damning admissions which have convicted him out of his own mouth. Condé discovered the only possible way to rehabilitate him, by declaring that the murder of the duke was a tactic of war, and did not come within the jurisdiction of a civil court.

The joy of the Huguenots was shared by the English. Throckmorton told Elizabeth that the death of the Duke of Guise would improve the state of affairs, and that it "would be useful to send the promised money." All Normandy, with the exception of Rouen, was in the hands of the English, and Catherine saw herself in the predicament of an English invasion on one side, and of a German on the other. At Orleans, the besieged appeared on the ramparts, dressed in strange garments and uttering wild cries, while they insulted by gestures the Catholic religion and the Royal family. Failing to obtain any satisfaction from Coligny, the Queen Regent again had recourse to Condé, and partly won over by her arguments, partly it is said influenced by the beauty and charm of a young lady by whom she was accompanied, he concluded a treaty of pacification with her. By this treaty, Protestants of noble family had the right to practise their religion in their own houses, and certain towns were named in which Huguenots of all classes might do the same. Thus peace was made with Condé, but with the other chiefs, an amnesty only was con-

* Pasquier, Book iv. letter 21.

cluded. When this news became known, the German army proceeded no further; but Elizabeth was furious. Condé had undertaken, if he got what he wanted, to rid France of the English, and with him had seceded the young King of Navarre and certain others. There was no limit to the strong language which poured from Elizabeth's lips. The former "Joshua of the people of God" was henceforth "a traitor, a perjurer, a miserable wretch." She went so far as to say that he was good for nothing but to be thrown to the dogs.*

Nevertheless, at the French Court he flourished in the first rank, and the enmity between the Queens of France and England was at last real and sincere. "I am an Englishwoman and the Queen of France is a Florentine," exclaimed Elizabeth in her wrath, "but it shall be seen which of us two shall outwit the other."†

Henceforth the war entered a new phase, retaining however its revolutionary character, and developing situations as novel as they were discreditable to the principal actors in the drama.

J. M. STONE.

* Stevenson, *Cal. of State Papers*, No. 753.

† *Memoirs de Condé*, ii. 160.

ART. VIII.—THE PRIMITIVE SAINTS AND THE SEE OF ROME.

A BOOK upon this subject has recently appeared which has its points of interest in the controversy between Anglicanism and the Catholic Church. There is a great deal of thoroughly good writing in it, and it has the merit of clearness and of keeping to the point. And the point which it endeavours to enforce is exactly that which ought to be kept in the forefront of the "Anglo-Roman" controversy. It addresses itself to the impossible task of proving that the Primitive Saints regarded the See of Rome as possessed of a primacy of honour, but nothing more, and of a primacy of natural growth, not of divine institution.

There was a marked primacy of honour and influence, but there was no primacy of jurisdiction. The inherent jurisdiction of the Roman See was exactly the same as the inherent jurisdiction of every other See in Christendom (p. 22).

The book is really a *rechauffé* of the arguments to be found in Gallican works, applied to the Anglican position, but no Gallican would have accepted Mr. Puller's position. As regards a General Council, for instance, according to Mr. Puller's theory, the confirmation of the Pope differs little, if at all, from its confirmation by any patriarch.

But there is a compactness about Mr. Puller's book, and an elaborateness in detail, which is likely to make it a handbook for the Anglican clergy for some time to come. It is, moreover, introduced to the public by a preface from Bishop King, the defendant in the celebrated Lincoln case. And there are names mentioned in the author's preface which show that the book may be rightly treated as an "Anglican manifesto." And as such we propose to deal with a portion of its contents. Of course it will not be accepted by all who belong to the Church of England as a fair or thorough presentation of their position; but it would be hard to find any treatise that would. Quite lately a remarkable little book, in its way, has appeared from another English clergyman, belonging to the same school

of thought, which completely contradicts Mr. Puller's most cherished contention. This writer says :

The Primacy is of our Lord's appointment, it resides in Rome, because Rome was chosen for St. Peter's fixed and final See. The evidence of this is overwhelming. The only passage that I know of, which can be quoted against it, is the clause in the abortive Canon XXVIII. of Chalcedon, that the Fathers gave the Primacy to Rome because it was the imperial city ; but this sentence, even if the Canon were authoritative, which it is not, does not explain the Primacy, but only why Rome was chosen for its seat. I feel this is most important for anything like fair and respectful controversy with Rome.*

Mr. Puller thinks quite otherwise : his title contains his conviction on this point—it is the "See of Rome," not the "See of Peter." He is in diametrical opposition on this point to Archbishop Bramhall, whom he cites, nevertheless, as a representative "Anglican divine" (p. 367); for Bramhall said that "he must be either meanly versed in the primitive Fathers, or give little credit to them, who will deny the Pope to succeed St. Peter in the Roman bishopric."† Mr. Puller, on the other hand, speaks of this doctrine, when he meets with it in St. Cyprian, as a novel doctrine (p. 54) due to "the Clementine romance." And when he comes to that which is involved in the expression "See of Peter," as stated by Philip, the legate at Ephesus, he calls it a "new doctrine, new and therefore false" (p. 184).

Our readers will at once see from this that Mr. Puller's position is a step lower down than that which Dr. Pusey had reached, when he spoke of his willingness to accept some form of the "supremacy" of the Pope. Its position more resembles that of Dr. Littledale, only Mr. Puller is never offensive as that writer was. But his treatment of the Councils reveals the same tone of mind that betrayed itself in those two writers. He picks his own way amidst the maze of Patristic writings, owning no authority as his guide. This is a necessary result of his position. For instance, when he deals with the question of heretical baptism, he informs us that the Church of England, though it has its custom, differs from the Catholic, or, as he

* "Leadership, not Lordship," p. 40. By Rev. A. C. Hall. C. Kegan Paul & Co. 1892.

† Works, vol. ii. p. 373.

would call it, the Roman, Church in leaving the matter (even at this time in the Church's history) an open question : "The controversy has never been decided by an authority which binds the whole Church" (p. 73). St. Augustine expressly says that it has ; but Mr. Puller ventures to differ from St. Augustine. He differs also from the entire body of bishops (nearly all Eastern) who were engaged at Ephesus in asserting the Catholic faith as to the doctrine of the Incarnation. These all agreed that the teaching which Mr. Puller condemns as "new and therefore false doctrine" (p. 184), was neither new nor false. In fact, they agreed that it was history itself. Philip said that "it is doubtful to no one, but rather has been known to all ages" (*i.e.*, not only is it an acknowledged tenet throughout the Church now, but it is the verdict of the Primitive Saints)—

that the holy and most blessed Peter, the prince and head of the Apostles, and pillar of the faith, the foundation of the Catholic Church, received of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of the human race, the keys of the kingdom, and power was given to him to bind and loose sins ; who up to this time and always lives and exercises judgment in his successors.

This was not a remark that was allowed to die away in silence. The other legates based their decision on the same grounds, and St. Cyril rose to say that the assembly had "heard what the legates had said," and the whole Council in agreeing to the condemnation of Nestorius expressly says—

since Arcadius and Projectus, the reverend and pious bishops and legates, and Philip, presbyter and legate of the Apostolic See, have spoken what is suitable, they ought to confirm the Acts by their signature.

Now, Mr. Puller differs from St. Cyril and this great body of Eastern bishops in calling Philip's words "an attempt to give a religious sanction to the great position which the Roman pontiffs had acquired mainly through the legislative action of the State" (p. 184). Indeed, his book may be considered as an attempt to reverse the account of the Church's history given at the Council of Ephesus.

Now what is Mr. Puller's explanation of the undoubted fact that the See of Rome came so early to be called by the saints, St. Cyprian amongst others, the See of Peter ? It has always

been considered to have been founded by the Apostles Peter and Paul, but how did it come to be called the See of Peter? To this day Papal Bulls are issued, in the name of the two Apostles, a fact which Bishop King seems to have ignored in his preface (p. xxi.); but how is it that the See has come to be universally recognised as the See of Peter? Mr. Puller thinks it sufficient to say that it was due to the "baleful influence" of the Clementine romance, in which St. Peter is seen placing Clement "in his own chair." His explanation, then, is as follows:

A romance found its way to Rome in the latter part of the second century. Up to that time the See of Rome had never been called the See of Peter, but only a See founded by the twin Apostles Peter and Paul. Then Rome, on the appearance of this book, chose to forget her past history, and in spite of the perpetual confluence of strangers to Rome, through whom, according to Mr. Puller's impossible interpretation of Irenæus' words, the faith was kept secure at Rome, in that very century—Rome, the very scene of the ordination of St. Clement—Rome, the orthodox—Rome, whose virtues, according to Bishop Lightfoot, gained for her a primacy of honour—Rome suddenly took up with a falsehood which enhanced her own importance, and persuaded others to adopt the same, and gave out that the account in the "Clementine romance" was the true one, and that her See was the See of Peter! The Primitive Saints, Eastern and Western, African included, were taken in, and Christendom got into the way of calling Rome the See of Peter! *Credat Judæus Apella.*

Now, where we think Mr. Puller's theories conspicuously fail, is in a certain lack of reverence for the judgment of the Primitive Saints as a whole. A single swallow does not make a summer; and an exceptional incident in a saint's life, or an exceptional scene in the Church's history, is not a sufficient foundation for the tremendous edifice which he builds upon it. He does not appreciate the supernatural vigour of the Church's constitution, which will repel a foreign element with greater certainty than he seems to suppose. A doctrine, for such it is, like that of the See of Rome being the See of Peter, could not have sunk down into the heart of Christendom to the extent that it did, if it had been untrue.

But even in the case of individual saints, Mr. Puller seems to us to fail in appreciating the crucial point of their evidence.

One of the *pièces de résistance* in this book is the supposition that Meletius was out of communion with the See of Rome, *in the sense* in which Cardinal Wiseman used the expression "communion," when he said (as quoted by Mr. Puller, p. 220):

According to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, it is easy at once to ascertain who are the Church Catholic, and who are in a state of schism, by simply discovering who are in communion with the See of Rome, and who are not.

But there is one point in the evidence in favour of Meletius having been in communion with Rome and having always considered it a matter of importance to be in communion with her, which Mr. Puller does not so much as mention. And yet to us it seems of greater weight than all the evidence on the other side which Mr. Puller has so laboriously accumulated—we mean the fact that *Meletius himself claimed to be in communion with Rome*.

St. Jerome, in a subsequent letter* to one with which Mr. Puller deals most trenchantly, pitying the saint because of his youthful perplexity, states that as a matter of fact all the three bishops claimed to be in communion with Rome.

The ancient authority of the monks, who dwell around rises up upon me. I meanwhile exclaim, if any one be joined to the chair of Peter, he is mine. Meletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus, say that they adhere to you; if only one of them asserted this, I could believe him.

Now it is impossible to suppose that Mr. Puller never read this important letter; we must therefore suppose that he deliberately ignored it. He did not feel its weight. And it is precisely in this kind of argument that Mr. Puller fails. His treatment of St. Jerome's witness is altogether unworthy of a serious writer. We know the life of prayer and mortification and study of Holy Scripture St. Jerome was leading, and how familiar he must have been with the teaching of East and West. The few years that he had been a Christian

* Ep. xvi.

were not too few for him to know what the general teaching of the Church was; but his account of it was completely subversive of Mr. Puller's thesis; and Mr. Puller brushes his witness aside on the ground that he was young (he was thirty), and annoyed by the divisions of the East, and naturally attracted by the admitted orthodoxy of Rome. Mr. Puller thinks it enough to say that "all the glorious Eastern saints of that age" (p. 171) were on the side of Meletius. But in what sense were they on his side? If St. Jerome's facts be true, St. Basil was holding communion with one who could assure him that he was in communion with Rome. For St. Jerome states that Meletius claimed communion with Rome, so that he was not guilty of the formal heresy of denying the necessity of being in some sort of communion with the See of St. Peter, at least in intention. St. Jerome makes many a mistake in his history; but it is hardly possible to suppose that he is mistaken in his facts here. It was the very point of his perplexity that Meletius claimed communion with the chair of Peter. He was mistaken, indeed, in supposing that St. Meletius and Paulinus could not both be in communion with Rome at the same time. But the one is the statement of a matter of fact, of which he was bound to be cognisant—viz., that Meletius made the claim to communion with Rome; the other had to do with the method of government which obtained at Rome, and which, judging from the Council of Alexandria (362), was probably due to the influence of St. Athanasius, and on this St. Jerome might easily be mistaken.

Now, if Meletius claimed communion with Rome, we may be sure that he enjoyed it. But this is just one of those pieces of evidence of which Mr. Puller does not seem to see the force.

There is another feature of this book which seriously detracts from its value. Mr. Puller regrets in his preface that he "has been unable to discuss the history of the Roman pontificate in relation to the four great heresies connected with the names of Arius, Pelagius, Nestorius, and Eutyches" (p. xxvii.). Of course a writer cannot be expected to deal with everything in the course of a book of 407 pages. But we are bound to say that Mr. Puller occasionally shows signs of an entire non-recognition of the filling-up, or background, of the

Church's life, in which instances of supposed or actual withdrawal of communion with the See of St. Peter occur. His title, therefore, raises in us expectations which his book does not fulfil. The Primitive Saints, amongst whom Mr. Puller must reckon many of the Popes themselves, although he seems most unwilling to believe their word, can hardly be dealt with satisfactorily if we exclude the struggle of the Church against the four great heresies that depraved the doctrine of the Incarnation. But Mr. Puller most seriously misrepresents the evidence of the Councils, so far as he does deal with them.

For instance, he makes the strangest statement about the relation of the Holy See to the Council of Ephesus.

He says that St. Cyril "took precedence of the legates who represented Celestine in the Council." He is endeavouring to prove that at the Council of Chalcedon, "for the first time in the history of the Church, the legates of the Pope presided at an Ecumenical Council" (p. 268). And in order to prove this, he reminds his readers that St. Cyril presided at Ephesus, sitting above "the legates who represented Celestine." "This," he adds, "was quite in accordance with the Church's ancient custom." It is difficult to make out what exactly Mr. Puller considers to be the Church's ancient custom on this point. St. Cyril was not Bishop of Ephesus, where the Council sat, nor was he the senior bishop in point of age, neither was he appointed by the Emperor. But as a matter of fact, Mr. Puller has ignored the plain testimony of the Acts of the Council. It is distinctly stated that St. Cyril sat where he did *as occupying the place of the Pope*. That there may be no mistake about this, we will quote the words themselves. In the first Act the words are, "Cyril of Alexandria, who also occupied the place of Celestine, the most holy and sacred archbishop of the Roman Church."* In the second, the words are, "Cyril, the Alexandrine, who also occupied the place of the most holy and blessed archbishop of the Church of the Romans."† In the third, Cyril of Alexandria, "who also occupied the place of the most holy and most blessed Celestine, archbishop of the Roman Church."‡ In the fourth, "Cyril, the Alexandrine, who also occupied the place of Celestine, the

* Mansi, t. iv. p. 1123.

† *Ibid.* p. 1292.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 1306.

most holy archbishop of the Roman Church." In the fifth Act, the legates from Rome presided and not Cyril, for Cyril and Memnon pleaded their own cause in that session. In the sixth it is again Cyril, "who also occupied the place of Celestine, the most holy archbishop of the Church of the Romans;" and in a very old codex in Paris it runs, "Cyril of Alexandria, acting also as Vicar (*agente etiam vicem*) of the most holy and religious prelate of the Roman Church, Celestine."*

It is, therefore, not candid to say that St. Cyril took precedence of the legates who represented Celestine in the Council, without adding that he did so *as the representative of the Pope*, from which Mr. Puller's argument gains nothing, or rather is overthrown.

Mr. Puller does deal with the Council of Nice, and his treatment of the history of that Council is a good instance of the way in which he manipulates his authorities, and it also contains a sample of a kind of argument which we often meet with in Anglican writers. We will, therefore, deal with both his authorities and his argument against Papal infallibility.†

"If St. Sylvester was the infallible monarch of the Church, and was so recognised, his sovereign position ought to come out clearly in the history of the Council" (p. 144).

Now here is another instance of the way in which Mr. Puller often ignores the background in which the incidents he selects, really occurred.

There was no reason why the infallibility of the Holy See should appear in the definition or the Canons of the Council, and *we do not possess the Acts*. Indeed, there is no reason why the infallibility of the Holy See should appear in the Acts, even if we did possess them. For what is that infallibility? It is the security of Divine assistance *when* the Holy Father is led to define a matter of faith or morality as obligatory on the whole Church. Who can say when the Holy See will be led to use this form of teaching? When Mr. Puller says, "The decision of the Council was enforced on the Arian heretics without anybody waiting to find out whether the Pope agreed

* Mansi, t. iv. p. 1342.

† Mr. Puller says (p. xxvii.) that he has not thought it necessary to "devote any lecture to the consideration of the crowning claim of the Papacy to doctrinal infallibility," but he occasionally deals with the subject.

or disagreed with what had been done" (p. 144), he seems to forget that the very idea of the Council was to enforce in the East what was already the settled and known faith of the West. Does Mr. Puller suppose that any one in his senses would have dreamt of asking the Pope whether he accepted the "Homocousion?" Why, St. Athanasius pressed upon the Arians the fact that the history of the Pope Dionysius, in the preceding century, was sufficient to prove that their heresy had been "anathematised by all, long ago." St. Dionysius had enforced it on his namesake of Alexandria, or rather had heard the appeal of the Alexandrian suffragans, and cleared the Bishop of Alexandria from their accusation. The Arians were in the position of Anglicans. The judgment had been given, but they were not prepared to obey. They appealed to history; they said it was novel teaching; and St. Athanasius showed them their mistake.

What was the Pope St. Sylvester to do? Hold another Council in the West and issue an *ex cathedra* judgment? But another way was open, which had not yet been tried. Hosius' mission to Alexandria had failed, and his mission was to bring the malcontents into line with the teaching of Rome and Alexander, the Bishop of Alexandria. But in the providence of God the Emperor Constantine now occupied himself with the eastern portion of his empire. He had seen the unity of the West on this question. He found the East torn with dissension. He resolved that the faith of the West should prevail in the East. It was to be effected not by an Imperial edict, enforcing the faith as held at Rome, but by a Council. Had Pope St. Sylvester anything to do with convoking this Council? Mr. Puller says, "It was convoked by the Emperor, and there is no particle of proof that he consulted St. Silvester before doing so" (p. 143). One is amazed at such assurance, and still more at the proof of the assertion offered by Mr. Puller. For he goes on to say that "Nobody attributed any share in the convocation of the Council to the Pope until the end of the seventh century." And with this terse dogmatic assurance he would leave his readers convinced that there is "no particle of proof" that the Emperor "consulted St. Silvester" before summoning the Council. Mr. Puller has ignored the statement of the Legates at Chalcedon, that Dioscorus "had

ventured to arrange a Synod without leave from the Apostolic See" (by which is evidently meant that he had assumed the presidency without leave from the Pope)—"a thing which had never been done, and ought never to be done."* Mr. Puller could hardly reply that that was only what Papal legates say, considering the reception with which this statement met from the bishops, *not one of whom challenged the position.*

But even if in deference to Mr. Puller's idea of candour, which seems to be that no one's statement is to be pressed if it consists in "magnifying his office," although its evident acceptance by others interested in denying it, ought to go for something—even, we say, if we consent to forego the witness thus given at Chalcedon to the law of the Church, that the president of an Œcumenical Synod must rest with the Pope; still, who were they who made the statement to which Mr. Puller alludes with such vagueness? Who were they who, according to him, did attribute a share in the convocation of the Council of Nicæa to St. Sylvester? *They were Eastern bishops in a General Council.* They were Eastern bishops at a time when considerable rivalry had grown up between the East and West, and when pretensions to supremacy were severely sifted. Is it quite "candid" merely to allude to their witness without saying whose it was? So the bishops of the Œcumenical Synod of 680 did attribute to St. Sylvester a share in the convocation of the Nicene Council, and this is called "no particle of proof."

But this is not all. Rufinus, quite a trustworthy writer, who was born close to the date of the Council, and who wrote about the end of the same century, says that Constantine convoked the Council "ex sacerdotum sententia." It was not then the Emperor's idea alone, perhaps not even originally. Who were the priests who thought the Council ought to be called? It was not likely to be the suggestion of Eusebius and the rest of the Arianising Bishops, who surrounded the Court. They would have been the last to suggest it, or to look favourably on it. It was doubtless the advice of the Western Bishops, headed by the Pope, and the Bishop of

* Marinus' presidency at Arles is not to the point. It was not an Œcumenical Synod. The reason, too, which the Ballerini give should be noticed—viz., "*sola loci ratio in causâ esse potuit.*"

Alexandria. It was thus, in a very true sense, convoked with the advice of St. Sylvester, as the Eastern Bishops of the sixth General Council state. We know that letters were passing between Rome and Alexandria on the general crisis, and we may fairly assume that the subject of a Council would be amongst the topics of their correspondence.

Mr. Puller, moreover, maintains that "there is no reason to suppose that St. Sylvester presided in the Council, either personally or by his legates." No one ever supposed that he presided personally. But that he presided by his legates seems as clear as it could well be made by the very scanty records which we possess of the acts of this particular Council. Mr. Puller quotes Eusebius' account, but gives a turn to its obvious meaning. Eusebius says that the aged Pope was not there, but his legates were, and they filled his place. He is not speaking of the presidency, but merely gives a list of the bishops, and therefore remarks that his place was filled by his legates from Rome. What his place was is not stated, but certainly Eusebius' account does not exclude the fact that Hosius acted with his legates, as also representing the Pope. Hosius signed with the two legates straight from Rome, before the Bishop of Alexandria. The whole after-history of the Church contradicts Mr. Puller's idea that the Emperor could have placed a Western Bishop over all the great Eastern Sees, Alexandria included, merely on his own good pleasure, without the express consent of Sylvester, and not as representing the first See of Christendom. *Cordova, Rome, Alexandria!* this the order by the Emperor's decision! Is it conceivable that the legates at Chalcedon could propose that Dioscorus should be turned out of his place because he had ventured to arrange a Synod without the leave of the Pope, and that no Eastern Bishop should have arisen to say that a Western Bishop had taken precedence of all the Eastern Sees at Nicæa by command of the Emperor, whose permission Dioscorus also had?

Mr. Puller says that "*some Ultramontanes* suppose that he presided as the chief legate of the Pope." Does Mr. Puller rank St. Francois de Sales amongst the Ultramontanes? Does he nickname Bishop Hefele an Ultramontane? Surely Bishop Hefele's full and scholarly treatment of this question deserves something better than to be shelved after this cavalier fashion.

Mr. Puller proceeds: "but none of the early historians speak of him as holding any such position." Why, they none of them give the President at all. Eusebius unfortunately, from his Arian propensities, indulges in a description of the Council, but does not give us just the points we should have valued most, whilst Socrates only copies out Eusebius' words, and Sozomen, also omitting to mention the President, about whom probably no one doubted, makes a slip about the name of the Pope (Julius for Sylvester), and Theodoret, without giving the name of the President, says that the two presbyters had power given them to assent to what was done. And these are the historians that Mr. Puller adduces. Clearly their silence is of no account as an item in the evidence. Gelasius, of Cyzicus, does bracket Hosius with the two other legates. But Mr. Puller recognises no weight in his authority. But it will not quite do to set aside Gelasius in this summary way. He does not in this case give the legatine character of Hosius' presidency as a report, or a conclusion of his own, but he gives two lists of the signatures, which there is no fair ground for doubting. Most people, seeing that in the first few Sees the order of rank invariably observed in the Church, is preserved, would conclude that Hosius, being a *Western Bishop*, signed with the two legates above Alexandria, because he represented the first See in Christendom, and there are lists which expressly state this, and which are given by Gelasius.

But there is another singular witness to the fact that St. Sylvester was considered to have presided over the Council, one that ought to weigh considerably with Mr. Puller and his co-religionists, and that is, the Græco-Russian Liturgy. In the office for St. Sylvester's day occurs the following address to him in reference to the Council of Nicæa: "Thou hast shown thyself the supreme one of the Sacred Council, O initiator into the sacred mysteries, and hast illustrated the throne of the supreme one of the disciples." Here is the Presidency of the Council attributed, as an established fact, to St. Sylvester, and it is connected with the traditional belief as to the supremacy of St. Peter amongst the Apostles. Photius, too, whom Mr. Puller calls the most learned prelate that ever sat on the throne of Constantinople, before his schism, followed

Gelasius in joining Hosius and the two priests together, as the Papal legation.

In connection with the Council of Nicæa, there is one question which figures very prominently in the preface to Mr. Puller's book by the Bishop of Lincoln, and being based on a statement by Canon Bright, from whom Bishop King quotes, it may be considered to be a prominent and general line of thought amongst the Anglicans. And Mr. Puller is emphatic on the subject. It is as follows :—

The sixth Canon, it is said (though this will have to be questioned), contains nothing about "any general powers belonging to Rome as the court of appeal for the whole Catholic Church," and Mr. Puller considers its silence "significant" (p. 147).

Undoubtedly, if the idea had been presented to the Synod, and if any claim on behalf of the Pope had been urged as a matter of divine right, there can be no question that a repudiation of such claim would have been made in unmistakable terms. But as a matter of fact the claim was not made, and therefore the whole conception which underlies the Vatican decrees was ignored. [The italics are our own.]

Bishop King, whilst not so dogmatic, is not less explicit.

Could the Fathers of the Council of Nicæa have passed the canons which we know they passed if they had recognised the Papal supremacy? We need bring our minds to the consideration of such words as Dr. Bright has given us in his notes on the sixth Canon of Nicæa: "The omission (of a saving clause acknowledging the unique and sovereign position of the Bishop of Rome) is a proof, if proof were wanted, that the First Œcumenical Council knows nothing of the doctrine of Papal supremacy" (Preface, by Bishop of Lincoln, p. xvi.).

This crowning "proof" is only another instance of what we have already noticed—viz., the lack of realising the circumstances under which Mr. Puller's selected incidents occur.

Now, be it remembered, the argument is, that if Papal infallibility be true, or if even the sovereign jurisdiction of the Holy See had been recognised at large, it must have been discussed, and its method of exercise settled, at the Council of Nicæa. One would have thought it enough to state the proposition to see its temerarious nature. Was then the Council of Nice assembled for the purpose of discussing everything? Is it conceivable that, given the truth of the sovereign jurisdic-

tion of the Holy See, the Holy Father would send delegates to a Council to discuss the truth? Had it ever been doubted? "The idea had," says Mr. Puller, "not crossed the minds of the Saints and Fathers who composed the Council." He derives a proof from the 5th Canon. Because that Canon provides that persons unjustly excommunicated by their bishop are referred to their Provincial Synod, Mr. Puller argues that the Fathers could not have dreamt of any appeal beyond that. Why, they were themselves engaged in settling a matter in which the Province had done its best, and were acting as a higher Court of Appeal. But it was no part of their business to settle in that Canon, what would happen if the Provincial Synod did not satisfy those who appeal from their Bishop to it. Does Mr. Puller suppose that appeals from a Patriarch to Rome were unknown? He must have forgotten the affair of Dionysius of Alexandria. The argument from silence needs very careful handling, and it is a plain abuse of it to argue that because a Canon settles that excommunicated persons are to appeal from their bishop to the Provincial Synod, they may not go beyond. The 5th Canon settled the machinery so far, and no farther. There was no call, it may be, to go further in their discussion.

But when Mr. Puller comes to the 6th Canon, he asks a question which contains a gratuitous assumption. He says,

Is it not marvellous that on the very first occasion when the whole Church has an opportunity of meeting together by representation in an (Ecumenical Synod, the one matter in which it seems to *take no interest* is the divinely given prerogatives of its head. [The italics are again our own.]

It is surely the very reverse of marvellous, that if those prerogatives were divinely given, there should be no dispute about them. And the Western Bishops were not there. Why in the world should they enter on a question which was not one of those set down for discussion, and which it would have been grossly unfair to spring upon the Council in the absence of the Westerns? According to one account, there was an attempt to engage in philosophical discussions touching some fundamental verities, but without success. If this were so, it would not be from lack of interest, but because they had met for something else. They had met to consider the borderland

of Alexandria's jurisdiction for one thing, but it was not necessary that the question of the relation of the Holy See to the rest of the Church should be introduced on the top of that. It used to be the test of every "faithful" sermon in the Church of England, that it brought in the whole scheme of Redemption in the compass of thirty pages, and when some English clergymen began to deal with one point at a time, there was an objection raised that they were not "faithful" preachers, because they stuck to the point before them, and did not give "the whole Gospel" into the bargain. The objection raised by Bishop King, Canon Bright, and Mr. Puller, is of a similar order. If the sovereign jurisdiction of the Holy See was an undisputed truth, then it would have been quite out of place to drag it into a short Canon like the 5th; nor would it have been necessary to introduce it in the 6th. The Fathers addressed themselves to the point at issue, and did not stray beyond it. That point involved the limits of jurisdiction which belonged to certain Eastern Sees, and they did not enter upon the question of Western affairs.

Whilst, however, no argument can be derived from the fact, if it be such, that after dealing with the subject of the Consubstantiality of the Son, and settling in their Canons certain matters under actual discussion at the time, they did not enter on other questions, we cannot refrain from saying that neither Canon Bright nor any one else has proved that the 6th Canon did not *imply* the sovereign jurisdiction of the Pope, or that the form of the Canon read by Paschasinus at Chalcedon was spurious. Nor is it absolutely certain that we have the full original of the 6th Canon fully represented in any one of the copies which we at present possess.

This, however, is too long a subject to enter upon now. We will only say here that the Bishops at Chalcedon did not treat Paschasinus' version of the 6th Canon of Nicea containing the words, "The Roman Church always held the Primacy," as spurious. The Archdeacon Aetius did not read his version of the Canon by way of showing that Paschasinus' version was spurious, for the Commissioners *had said before* that each should read the Canons on which they relied. The Roman Legate naturally read the Canon on which he relied first; and Aetius probably read only the 3rd Canon of Constantinople,

which alone bore upon the question before them.* But in summing up the whole discussion, the Imperial Commissioners said that what came out of it was that the primacy (using the very word in Paschasinus' version which implies more than mere honour) is reserved for Rome. He then goes on to the real question before the Bishops, which had to do, not with Rome's position, but with the relative position of Alexandria and Constantinople. So that, if the accounts of the sixth Nicene Canon were compared for the sake of seeing which was true, it emerges that the comparison led to the declaration that the Roman version was true. As a matter of fact, no comparison was made, and the question of Rome's supremacy was left where it was before. It is a matter for serious protest that Bishop King should help to spread such an unhistorical rendering of the scene at Chalcedon, relying it would seem on the account of another.

As regards the whole question of the recognition of the Primacy of Rome, at Nicæa, we have St. Cyril of Alexandria's statement that the Nicene Fathers decreed with reference to the Paschal controversy that the Church of Alexandria should make the due calculations for the proper day of its observance, and notify it to the Roman Church every year, "whence the universal Church through the whole world might know by *Apostolic authority* the day fixed for the Paschal Feast."

It would be difficult to imagine a more thorough recognition of the central position of Rome. The churches throughout the world were not to receive the notice from Alexandria: there would be a lack of *Apostolic authority* about such a notification; they would receive it from Rome, and so by "*Apostolic authority*." There can be no question what St. Cyril understood by "*Apostolic authority*." Rome was to him "the *Apostolic See*."

Mr. Puller is equally unreliable when he proceeds to deal with the Popes of the fourth century. He appears anxious to meet the difficulty which an Anglican must feel, in studying the fourth and fifth centuries, about the plain assertions made by the Popes before a Christian public, as to the responsibilities of their office. He accordingly does his

* The writer of this article has dealt with this question somewhat fully in the book which he is allowed to announce as about to appear in the autumn.

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best to show that the Christian world generally had gone so far astray, Popes included, that such a thing was possible as a revolution in the thoughts of Western Christianity as to the source of the position occupied by the Bishop of Rome. We hope we are not doing Mr. Puller an injustice in thus orientating the ideas he has expressed in his lecture on the Papacy in the fourth century. We at any rate can only do justice to our own estimate of that chapter by characterising his treatment of some holy men as nothing short of brutal. Take, for instance, his treatment of Liberius. The history of Liberius is just one of those matters on which modern scholarship has done so much, that a mere reference to Baronius (that Cuvier of ecclesiastical annalism, to whom it was given to lift the whole subject and roll it on a new level) betrays a superficial grasp of the subject. Mr. Puller quotes a saying of Baronius on the return of Liberius from exile (p. 139), as that of one "whose opinion may safely be accepted in such a matter." Baronius calls it a conjecture, and makes it with a sort of apology. And he proceeds to ground his conjecture on a letter of Liberius, which is now generally admitted by scholars to be a forgery. Can there be the slightest doubt that Baronius would have hailed this discovery of modern scholarship and have been only too glad to attribute Liberius' action to a higher motive? We are not speaking of the vexed question as to Liberius having signed some document while in exile, but of the supposed motives which led him to seek his release, which Mr. Puller greedily adopts from Baronius on the ground of a forgery.

But, worse still, Mr. Puller makes the extraordinary statement that because Ammianus Marcellinus attributes the *fracas*, which attended the election of St. Damasus to the pontifical throne, to the splendid position of the Bishop of Rome at that time, therefore the said writer "implies that Liberius must have sanctioned and used the grandeur and luxury" attributed by this heathen historian to the Roman bishop. The pagan historian is, indeed, about as much to be trusted on such a matter, as a member of the Liberation Society in his tirades against the Archbishop of Canterbury and his fifteen thousand a year. The establishment of the Christian religion at Rome had necessarily led to a tremendous revolution in men's

thoughts as to the Christian Church and to a vast amount of general worldliness. But there is not an iota of proof that either Liberius or Damasus were in any way responsible for the state of things, or that they were lacking in personal self-discipline. It is simply inconceivable that Liberius, at any rate, should have impressed himself on the orthodox world as he did, if he had been what the baseless and brutal suggestions of Mr. Puller would paint him. He has not adduced one substantiated fact to prove his point. It was a necessary part of his thesis to show that the Popes of the fourth century were not what the Christian world has hitherto held them to be; for if they were good men, Mr. Puller has too much sympathy with goodness to suppose that they would inaugurate (as in Mr. Puller's theory they did) a vile scheme of ambition which revolutionised the government of the Church. Mr. Puller has done his best to paint them black, but has he succeeded? Is it certain that even the one passage which he quotes from St. Basil, omitting another which shows that that saint was rather impatient for St. Damasus' intervention in the affairs of the East—is it, we say, certain that he meant any depreciation of St. Damasus' character, instead of merely an allusion to the universal difficulty of getting people in high life to attend to everybody's wants? But as for Liberius' moral character, which Mr. Puller does not spare, how does he account for the verdict passed on him by the Primitive Saints themselves? He was, according to St. Basil, "the most blessed Bishop Liberius;" according to St. Epiphanius, "the Pontiff of blessed memory;" according to St. Ambrose, "the thrice holy Bishop;" according to the Greek historian Theodoret, "the illustrious athlete for the faith;" according to Cassiodorus, "the great Liberius, the most holy Liberius." He is, in the menology of the Greeks, a saint distinguished as "the blessed Liberius, defender of the truth," "whose zeal for the orthodox faith caused him to undertake the defence of the great Athanasius." His exile is there related, and his return, but not a whisper of any defection, the account ending with saying that "he died at Rome, after having governed his flock well." But, according to Mr. Puller, "it cannot be said that, taken as a whole, his pontificate was worthy of the exalted position which he occupied" (p. 140)—a bold attempt to

reverse the verdict of the Primitive Saints on the high character of a Pope, to whom the Christian world is so deeply indebted.

Let us now turn to St. Basil and his friendship for his friend St. Meletius, of Antioch. Mr. Puller (p. 240) quotes a passage from St. Basil's 214th letter in which he considers that the saint "clearly lays down that the papal decision is not decisive on the question of orthodoxy." We are not quite sure what is included in the phrase, "the papal decision"—whether it means "any" papal decision, or the final authoritative decision; and, again, whether the question of orthodoxy means the question of a person's orthodoxy which had not been submitted to a process of investigation, or the question of what is the right faith. For the purposes of Mr. Puller's book it ought to mean the final decision on a person whose case has been thoroughly investigated. But it will be best to see what St. Basil meant.

Now St. Basil in this letter is dealing with a report that the Bishop of Rome had committed the See of Antioch to a person whom St. Basil held to be unorthodox, in preference to Meletius. He does not say that the Bishop of Rome has no jurisdiction in that region—*i.e.*, over the principal See of the East. Much less does he hold that they are schismatics who hold with Paulinus, to whom the commendatory letters from Rome were said to be addressed. It is astonishing that Mr. Puller should go the length of asserting this. St. Basil speaks of Paulinus and his followers as "of the household of faith," and he congratulates them on receiving letters from Rome—letters, too, which he says entrusted the Church of Antioch to their charge. The expression cuts at the root of Mr. Puller's theory of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so far as St. Basil's witness is concerned.

But these men seem to have been stretching the verdict contained in the "letters from Rome" to a conclusion which they did not warrant. And St. Basil deprecates this. He says that he is not disposed "on that account" (*i.e.*, on account of Paulinus' party having received favourable letters from Rome) "to ignore Meletius, or to have the Church under him forgotten." And he calls Meletius "that admirable Bishop of the true Church of God." He is not, as Mr. Puller interprets, contrasting the truth of Paulinus' Church, so to speak,

with the "Church under Meletius," but merely asserting that the party of Meletius *is* a part of the Church. In this Rome agreed with St. Basil, and possibly St. Basil knew this. But by way of defining his position, St. Basil goes on to say that in case he were asked by any authority on earth or in heaven, Pope or angel, to communicate with a person whom he knew to be unsound in the faith, he should decline to do so.

For it is not only that, if any one having received a letter of men were to pride himself on it, I should not allow myself to withdraw [from the position I have taken up]; but even if one should have come from heaven itself, but should not walk by the health-giving word of the faith, I am not able to consider him as partaker in the holy mysteries.

St. Basil had entreated Rome to issue a commission to investigate the matter on the spot. For some reason Rome had not consented to do this, but she had received a report from Eusebius of Vercelli. This trusted prelate, when at Antioch, had suspended his judgment. He appears to have disapproved of Lucifer's precipitate action in ordaining Paulinus, but, whilst deprecating, he did not feel justified in disowning it. Lucifer had acted under the impression that Meletius could not right himself with the orthodox after having coquetted with semi-Arianism. But he did not know the man, and how nobly he could atone for his mistake. Eusebius, however, would not so far condemn the action of his co-legate Lucifer as to communicate with Meletius. After his report to Rome, the Pope seems to have thought it was a matter that had better be left to work itself out,* and whilst declaring himself in favour of the bishop (Paulinus) ordained by his legate, and deciding to commit the See to him, he yet left Meletius in possession of his followers, whom St. Basil correctly calls "the Church under Meletius," which was thus allowed to be a part of the "true Church of God." It was an anomalous state of things, and not one from which a writer is justified in arguing in favour of the theory that communion with the See of Rome was a matter of indifference. Clearly St. Basil did not think that. He congratulated the followers of Paulinus on receiving letters from Rome, but decided to adhere to Meletius, who was a kind of master to him and

* Eusebius declared the matter "well nigh incurable." Theod. iii. 5.

his choicest friend. In the letter of which Mr. Puller makes so much, St. Basil enunciated a principle, perfectly sound according to the teaching of the Vatican decrees, that in a case *in which the faith was known and settled*, and in which a person was contravening it, no authority could dictate to him his course of action under pain of mortal sin. The case, as put by St. Basil, had not the remotest reference to the dogma of Papal Infallibility, and it was not one in which the exercise of papal jurisdiction was necessarily right. Mr. Puller thinks he has made a point against the Vatican decrees, when he can show that St. Basil held there were cases in which no man nor angel had authority to compel his obedience. But this only shows that Mr. Puller has not grasped the teaching of the Vatican Council. It is, indeed, the great flaw of the whole book that Mr. Puller has before him a view of "communion" which is not that which Cardinal Wiseman, whom he opposes, had before him, and that Mr. Puller's idea of papal jurisdiction seems to be that of an absolute, unconditional monarchy;* whereas, according to the Vatican decrees, it has its limits. Mr. Puller refuses to deal with those decrees as he would with a legal document, giving to the terms their proper technical value. Those decrees were for the Catholic Church, and the Catholic Church has her existing theology, which explains the terms used. They took their place, by the good pleasure of the Holy Ghost, in the midst of a system of teaching into which they fit, and from which the value of the terms are to be discovered.

But in this particular case, Mr. Puller has also given a colouring to St. Basil's words which heightens the supposed contradiction between them and his theory of papal jurisdiction.† He has inserted the words "such a letter," which is possibly the meaning; but he has also carried the word "letter" on as the subject of the following clause of the sentence. Now the word he has translated "agree with,"‡ is never applied to things, but to persons. It is twice used in the Epistle to the Galatians, to which St. Basil is obviously

* So Bramhall, "an absolute ecclesiastical monarchy." Works, vol. ii. p. 372.

† P. 239, line 12: "If such a letter . . . should not agree with the sound word of faith."

‡ *συναχῆ*.

referring when he speaks of some one coming from heaven. And in both cases the word is used of *persons walking* according to the spirit (v. 25) and "according to this rule" (vi. 15), and St. Basil elsewhere uses the word of persons "walking according to the traditional rule of godliness."* There is no known instance of the word being used of things. So that St. Basil does not suggest the idea of a papal brief being out of agreement with the sound word of the faith, but of a person recommended by a letter from Heaven itself being unsound in the faith. It is obvious that this makes a difference. At the same time, we do not wish to be misunderstood as saying that the highest papal decision could not, according to the teaching of the Vatican Council, contain error. Its reasonings, its history, might conceivably be at fault. They belong to earth; its conclusion only is, under the special circumstances denoted by the Vatican decree, unquestionably the voice of the Holy Ghost.

But St. Basil in the whole matter proved to be at fault, as men generally do when they oppose themselves to "letters from Rome." Paulinus was not unsound. And the same is the case with another letter (p. 172) which Mr. Puller quotes at some length. St. Basil was mistaken after all. And it is rather hard on Mr. Puller's readers that they should have a case presented to them, on which to ground their faith in the Church of England, wherein St. Basil actually retracted the saying which Mr. Puller quotes (p. 174), and on which Bossuet erroneously commented. St. Basil accused Rome, and the West generally, of supporting heresy by not listening to those who reported the truth in the case of Marcellus. It was not a case which comes under the Vatican definition of infallibility, but it was a serious matter for a bishop to accuse the whole of the West in this indignant way. And St. Basil was wrong. But he was a saint. And a saint, although he may fall into error, is sure to recover himself. St. Basil did make the *amende honorable* in the following year, and wrote to the West, saying, "You are proclaimed to all mortal men as remaining unstained in the faith, and keeping the Apostolic deposit unharmed; things are not so with us."†

* τῷ παραδοθέντι κανόνι τῆς εὐσεβείας στοιχοῦντας. Cf. also Phil. iii. 16, "to walk according to the same rule;" and Rom. iv. 12.

† Basil, Ep. 182. Migne.

Students in Church history must be struck with the way in which the words of St. Paul to the local Church of Rome form a sort of refrain in the Saints' utterances about the maintenance of the faith. The Roman clergy quote them to St. Cyprian; St. Cyprian quotes them to the Pope. St. Basil with all his occasional declamation against Rome for not coming to the aid of the East as much as he desired in his zeal for the Church's welfare, can, on occasion, pay the same tribute to the unfailing faith of the Church of Rome.

We should have thought that it scarcely fell within Mr. Puller's subject to reproduce St. Basil's words about the *hauteur* of Rome. It was perpetually objected to St. Basil himself that he was distant and proud; and St. Gregory, of Nazianzum, whilst in one passage of his writings he defends St. Basil from this accusation, in another himself brings it against his brother saint. Two of Mr. Puller's great instances of supposed advocates, among the Saints, of the Anglican theory of Church government are taken—the one from a passage in the life of a great saint, in which he fell into error, and his arguments were refuted by St. Augustine; the other, from a correspondence of which the darkest features are afterwards retracted. St. Cyprian maintaining the invalidity of baptism by heretics, St. Basil accusing Rome and the whole of the West, wrongly, of establishing heresy, are not a solid foundation on which to build a theory and call it that of the Primitive Saints.

We have said that the great flaw in Mr. Puller's book is that he does not define his terms. He sets out to oppose a saying of Cardinal Wiseman's about "communion with" the See of Rome. But it is evident that he has an entirely different view of what is meant by ecclesiastical communion, from that which was held by the Cardinal as a Catholic theologian.

There were various degrees of ecclesiastical communion. A church or person might be placed under anathema; or there might be simply a suspension of ecclesiastical intercourse. Not every local church, nor every person, who was out of communion with Rome in this latter sense, was in schism. If St. Stephen had been asked whether St. Cyprian was the legitimate Bishop of Carthage, and whether any one had a right to set up against him, there can be no question but that he would

have said that St. Cyprian was the only legitimate bishop. Whatever sentence he may have passed on St. Cyprian, it was not that of the *major* excommunication. There was in the early Church an *excommunicatio mortalis*, and an *excommunicatio medicinalis*. If Mr. Puller does not acknowledge this distinction, he should say so. If he does, the greater part of his book falls under the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*. When he quotes Mansi in favour of St. Cyprian's excommunication, he should remember that Mansi was a Catholic theologian, and had this distinction before him.

But our remarks have run to a length which precludes us from pursuing this subject further.

We will only point out to Mr. Puller two slips which we feel sure he will, as a matter of literary courtesy, retract in another edition. He misquotes the writer of "Authority, or a Plain Reason for Joining the Church of Rome," on p. 327, and founds on his misquotation a serious charge. If Mr. Puller will look towards the end of the page of "Authority" from which he quotes, he will see that the writer is speaking of Firmilian's statement to the effect that St. Stephen "stood alone," which was certainly false.

Another slip, as we presume it to be, is his citation of Abbé Dupin as a "learned French Roman Catholic theologian." Mr. Puller can hardly have remembered Dupin's history; his delation to the Archbishop of Paris by Bossuet; the sentence on the book from which Mr. Puller quotes; his expulsion by the king, for which the Bishops thanked his Majesty; his persistence in his dangerous anarchist views, persisted in even after his friend Richer had recanted; his widow presenting herself for her dues after his death; or he would not have called him a "Roman Catholic theologian," but a scandal to the Church of France.

But bad as Dupin was, he cuts the ground from under Mr. Puller's feet, when he explains St. Optatus' expression that the See of Carthage was the See of Peter, by referring to St. Cyprian, and saying it is the same teaching as his, the doctrine being that he who breaks with his own bishop,

is rightly said to withdraw from the chair of his own bishop, and from the chair of Peter, that is, from the Apostolic See, with which that bishop is united in communion.

So that even Dupin understood the "one chair" in St. Cyprian's letter to be what Mr. Puller is so astonished (p. 362) to find it is understood to be by the writer of "Authority, or a Plain Reason for Joining the Church of Rome," as most certainly the African Bishop, St. Optatus, understood St. Cyprian to mean.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

NOTE.—The writer of the above article is allowed to say here that he has a book in MS. nearly ready, which covers the same ground as Mr. Puller's book, and will, he hopes, show the untenable character of Mr. P.'s exposition of St. Cyprian's teaching.

Science Notices.

Resuscitation by Oxygen.—It is a mystery why the use of oxygen as an antidote to asphyxia should have been so long neglected. From time to time it has been advocated by the sages. A century ago Dr. Thomas Beddoes pointed out its value, and the idea had the commendation of other great minds of the eighteenth century. Amongst these were Priestley, Cavendish, Berzelius, Lavoisier, Davy, Dumas, Watt, Fourcroy, Wedgwood, Pearson, and Hey. But notwithstanding this weight of authority, the use of this vital element has been persistently forgotten by the medical profession, and thousands have been allowed to perish for the want of its administration. Colonel Elsdale did good service to humanity by writing the article on "Resuscitation by Oxygen," which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, May 1891, for he once more directed the attention of the medical profession to the neglected remedy and strengthened past arguments in its favour by his description of the courageous and successful experiment which, though a layman, he performed on an apparently lifeless patient. As will be remembered, his story was as follows: One afternoon at Chatham, Colonel Elsdale was informed that one of the sappers under his command had been overpowered by coal gas while he was engaged in emptying a war balloon. When Colonel Elsdale arrived on the spot, he found the man was lying insensible, and to all appearances dead. There was no action of the heart that could be felt and no perceptible breathing. Colonel Elsdale sent off men for medical aid, and placed the man in a position where he could get the benefit of the fresh breeze that was blowing. But the diluted oxygen which sustains life was unavailing to resuscitate the sapper. Colonel Elsdale remembered that he had in his possession some cylinders of compressed pure oxygen which he used for the oxyhydrogen lime-light and he determined to try the effect of undiluted oxygen on the senseless man. There was some risk in trying this experiment as Colonel Elsdale possessed no form of regulator for the flow of gas, and though he turned on the valve as little as possible the gas came out of the cylinder with a tremendous rush, as it was stored at a pressure of over 1000lbs. to the square inch. The salutary effect of the oxygen was almost instantaneous. The sapper revived amid violent convulsions which gradually subsided. Ten minutes later

he was pronounced by the doctor, who had meanwhile arrived, to be out of danger, half an hour later he was walking back to barracks. Next morning he was at work as usual, and felt no ill effects from his gas poisoning. Since Colonel Elsdale's article was published several medical men have adopted the use of pure oxygen in treating cases of acute respiratory affections with more or less success. Dr. Aubrey Blakiston claims to have saved life in two cases by the use of oxygen. Pure oxygen is now so readily manufactured by the Brin process that there is every facility for obtaining it at any time in any quantity. There can be no doubt that it will prove a valuable remedy in many cases of accident, such as when persons are half drowned, when it will probably be a quicker means of bringing back animation than the now practised artificial respiration. It will very likely be extremely valuable in cases where patients have succumbed under chloroform, laughing gas, or other anæsthetics. Also in cases when miners have been overpowered by carbonic acid or choke damp. There is another case of frequent occurrence which suggests itself—suffocation in fires. How often does the fireman penetrate into the conflagration to find the apparently lifeless corpse upon the staircase. When taken into the air he does not recover, and a corpse he remains; but very likely in such a case pure oxygen quickly applied would have been efficient. If so, the cylinders of the compressed gas should be an important feature of fire brigades.

Professor Clowes's Fire-Damp Indicator.—Any invention which tends to diminish the danger of explosion in coal mines deserves the warmest encouragement. It is to be hoped that such will be extended to Professor Clowes, who has successfully brought before public notice what is without doubt the most perfect combination of mining-lamp and fire-damp indicator yet produced. The old-fashioned method of detecting the presence of the ill-boding fire-damp was by observing the pale "cap" formed over the reduced oil-flame of the ordinary safety-lamp in the presence of gas. But such a method is too rough for the requirements of modern investigation. This test, when carefully made, will detect with difficulty 2 per cent. of fire-damp in the air of the mine; but it is sometimes important to detect 1 per cent. or less of fire-damp. Owing to the inadequacy of the ordinary safety-lamp for serving in the joint capacity of detector and illuminator, several inventions have been forthcoming to supply the need of an efficient gas-tester. One of these was designed by Mr. E. H. Living, in which the gas-testing principle is the increase in brightness produced in a platinum wire

heated to dull redness by an electric current, when the wire is surrounded by air containing gas. The apparatus forms a delicate gas-tester, but it has the great disadvantage of being useless for illumination, and must therefore be accompanied with a safety-lamp. As it is somewhat cumbrous and heavy, it adds to the load to be carried. Other inventors have recognised the advisability, if not necessity, of combining the illuminator and detector in one piece of apparatus, and have therefore made efforts to improve the ordinary oil safety-lamp, to render it fit for the purpose of detecting gas. In the case of the Davy lamp, the want of delicacy is partly due to the unsuitability of the test flame. Before a test is made the wick of the lamp has to be pulled down until the flame becomes pale and non-luminous. In this condition it is small and of low temperature, and therefore ill-suited to produce flame caps. The cap is also not well seen through the wire gauze protection. MM. Maillard and de Chatelier in 1881 brought out a lamp in which the flame cap is viewed through a glass cylinder instead of through the metallic gauze, and was seen against a dead black background. The lamp flame was also screened from the eye by blackened metal screens. This arrangement was an improvement on the Davy lamp, though the indications of low percentages of gas are feeble, and the screen obscures the light when the lamp is used for illuminating purposes. Professor Clowes has worked in the direction of combining the detector with the illuminator, and seems to have produced an apparatus that is convenient, simple, portable, and efficient. He cannot, however, claim to have originated the principle upon which the success of the apparatus depends. It was suggested by MM. Maillard and De Chatelier in 1881, and by Pieler in 1883. To Professor Clowes belongs the honour of having applied the suggestion in a practical form. The new feature is the employment of a hydrogen flame for the gas test. This hydrogen flame can be adapted to any safety-lamp, but the lamp he prefers to use is the one known as the Ashworth Hepple-White Gray safety-lamp, which is constructed to burn benzoline. The hydrogen gas is supplied from a store of compressed hydrogen, which is a cylinder weighing about a pound and measuring only five inches by one. It is made quickly attachable to the lamp, and forms a convenient handle for supporting it. The gas jet terminating a small-bore copper tube which passes from the outside of the lamp through the oil reservoir, is brought up beside the wick tube. When hydrogen is passed through this tube it is kindled by the lamp flame. The wick is then drawn down until the oil flame is extinguished, and the hydrogen flame is adjusted to standard size by setting its height to that of a wire 10 mm. (0.4 inch) in height, and fixed in the burner of

the lamp. The flame is then ready for gas-testing. When the illuminating flame is again required the wick is pushed up and kindled by contact with the hydrogen flame. The hydrogen flame is then extinguished. Thus a separate flame is used for detecting the fire-damp and illuminating the miner, but for detecting the higher percentages of gas the ordinary oil flame may be used alone in the old-fashioned manner. Professor Clowes claims to have proved the value of his apparatus by a patient and exhaustive series of comparative experiments performed in a test chamber filled with air containing percentages of fire-damp, petroleum vapour, and other gases.

The chief advantages gained by the use of the hydrogen flame in gas testing appears to be—1. That the flame is non-luminous whatever its dimensions may be, therefore it does not interfere with the perception of the cap. 2. The flame is easily adjustable to standard height, and can be made stable at that height until the test is finished, whereas other testing flames are of uncertain dimensions and cannot be got to a certain standard size. The Professor has found that a colza petroleum flame exposed in air containing a low percentage of gas, when twice adjusted gave caps of 8 and of 20 mm. The reduced oil flame sometimes fell so quickly that cap readings with low percentages of gas could not be taken. 3. The caps produced over the hydrogen flame are larger than those produced by any flame of corresponding size; therefore the size of the hydrogen flame can be so far reduced as to enable it to be used in an ordinary safety lamp. 4. The hydrogen flame shows no trace of cap in air that is free from gas, whereas some oil flames such as colza, petroleum, and the benzoline flame show pale mantles in gas free air which is misleading. 5. The standard hydrogen flame burns vigorously and is not likely to be extinguished by accident, whereas the reduced flames generally used in testing burn feebly. 6. Hydrogen gas is supplied practically pure, whereas oil and alcohol vary in purity of composition, and therefore are apt to give flames whose indications vary with the sample of liquid which is being burnt.

Artificial Clouds.—In the spring of 1892 some of the more enterprising proprietors of French vineyards tried to protect their vines from the harmful influence of the night frosts which were exceptionally severe in April and May, by producing artificial clouds in the manner practised by the North American Indians.

These clouds are produced by burning damp straw, or pine branches, which should be constantly watered with a spray. Such artificial clouds act like natural clouds, by forming a screen to arrest

radiation, while their production by combustion causes an agitation of the atmosphere which is a condition unfavourable to the production of frost. Then, too, a large quantity of aqueous vapour condensing by degrees in the atmosphere, produces a considerable amount of heat. Some experimenters have produced their clouds from the combustion of mineral oil which affords smoke in abundance, but the latter system seems to be less efficacious than the one that more closely resembles the operations of Nature. The results of the experiments were not attended with universal success, but it seems that where there was failure it could be accounted for, and can be provided against in the future. The chief cause of failure appears to have been the fact that the proprietors did not continue the production of the clouds for a sufficient number of hours. On one occasion the frost set in very early in the morning, while the clouds were not produced until about 2 or 3 o'clock, so that the harmful influence had been already at work. Then it appears from these recent experiments that it is all important not to discontinue making the clouds too soon after the sun rises, as their presence mitigates the effects of a sudden thaw which is specially deleterious. In the case of the experiments carried on in the Commune of Avensan, the cause of their failure can be entirely attributed to the discontinuance of the clouds. When the sun first appeared everything was going on well. Owing to the screen of artificial clouds, the thaw was gradual and the buds and shoots of the vines were preserved, but at eight o'clock the artificial clouds had dispersed and the buds and shoots were destroyed by the action of the sun; in the words of one of the proprietors, there was not a bud that was not blackened. He adds that the vines would have been preserved if the fires had been relighted at seven o'clock. The fact that certain vines that were protected from the sun at sunrise by walls or other means of shelter suffered less than those that were directly exposed to its action, bears out the wisdom of prolonging the artificial clouds for a certain time after sunrise.

Japanese Magic Mirrors.—Numerous explanations have from time to time been given of the cause of the peculiar phenomena exhibited by certain mirrors made in Japan. As is well known, the front of these mirrors is polished in the usual manner, and there are no forms depicted on the surface, but the back of the mirror is highly ornamented with Japanese characters, designs of flowers, vases, &c. When the polished side of the mirror is held in the path of the rays of a brilliant source of light, it not only reflects on to a

screen the polished surface, but also all the designs which are on the back of the mirror. Sir David Brewster thought this effect was due to the difference of texture in the surfaces causing differences in absorption or polarization, but this view has been since shown to be untenable. The theory now accepted was brought forward by Professors Ayrton and Perry in 1878. These scientists maintain that the patterns seen on the screen are due to differences in the curvature of the surface. At a late meeting of the London Physical Society, Professor S. B. Thompson gave additional evidence in support of their theory by showing some curious and seemingly conclusive experiments with these remarkable mirrors. The Professor covered a mirror with a piece of card in which there was a hole. When he moved the card about the disc of light reflected from the exposed portion varied in size, which shows that the curvatures of portions of the surface were not the same. This fact was also shown by reflecting the light passing through a coarse grating from the mirror when the lines were shown to be distorted. He then put the matter to a test which was demanded by Brewster. He subjected the cast of a mirror which had been metallised, silvered, and polished to the rays of light, and it gave evidence of the pattern reflected from the original. Professor Thompson then developed the discovery of the late Professor Govi, that warming a mirror altered its behaviour. He showed the meeting that a thick mirror which gave no pattern while cold, developed one when heated. He also showed that a glass mirror having a pattern on its back produced the magical effect when it was bent. When made convex the reflected pattern was dark on a light ground, but when made concave light on a dark ground. A conclusive experiment was one in which he wrote on lead foil and then pressed it against an ordinary mirror with a heater when the writing appeared upon the screen. He also showed that some Japanese mirrors which were defective in the "magic" property when imported, could be easily endowed with it by bending them so as to make them more convex.

The Consumption and Sources of Platinum.—The increased consumption of platinum since the invention of the incandescent electric lamp, affords a striking example of the beneficial effect that a new industry can exercise on another that is older but somewhat limited in extent. As is well known, incandescent electric lamps are fitted with platinum terminals, as platinum happens to have the same rate of expansion as glass. Each lamp takes a trifling amount of the metal, but, nevertheless, according to the statement of an

American contemporary, in 1892, 55,000 ounces were absorbed by the incandescent lamp industry. Another important use for platinum is the construction of stills for the concentration of sulphuric acid. The demand for them seems to be on a steady increase, notwithstanding the fact that glass is sometimes used for the concentrating vessels. The average amount of platinum used for these articles, during the last few years, is about 80,000 ounces annually. Platinum is also largely used for dentistry. In the United States the amount used for this purpose amounts to 35,000 ounces annually, and in the United Kingdom to 25,000 ounces. Platinum is also largely used in chemical laboratories for crucibles and other apparatus, and there are other minor uses for the metal, such as for jewelry, ornaments, plating, &c. These latter uses consume about 20,000 ounces annually, so that the total annual consumption of the metal is about 215,000 ounces. Ninety-two per cent. of the platinum used throughout the world comes from the Siberian Urals. The output in 1877 reached its maximum, 4400 kilogrammes. It then dropped to 2700 kilogrammes, and remained at that figure until 1891, when the production amounted to 4226 kilogrammes. It is doubtful whether the Siberian sources will be able to maintain this high level of production. If not, Columbia appears to be a promising future source of the metal. At present it only contributes 125 kilogrammes to the annual consumption, but the platiniferous area is large and adapted to hydraulic mining. British Columbia also produces a small amount of platinum annually (about 65 kilogrammes). In the United States a small quantity of the metal has been found incidental to gold production.

Notes on Social Science.

New Italian Catholic Review of Social Science.—A warm welcome should be given by all Catholics who are interested in social questions to a new periodical that has begun its life in Rome this year. And the beginning is most auspicious, being in the jubilee year of Leo XIII., who, amid many other titles, deserves that of the Pope of the Economists. The periodical is monthly, is entitled *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, and can be procured at the office at Rome, Via Torre Argentina 76, or at Sadler's in New York, or at Herder's in Freiburg, Baden. One of the most interesting features of the periodical is a sort of review of reviews (*Sunto delle Riviste*) extending over fifty or sixty pages, and including a survey not merely of Italian, but also of French, German, English, American, and even of some Spanish and Portuguese periodicals. There are also notices of books, a "social chronicle," and two or three solid articles in each number. In the first number Mgr. Salvatore Talamo has a full and admirable paper on "Justice in the Sociology of modern Evolutionists," in which he shows among other things the intolerable contradictions in which Mr. Herbert Spencer's ethics are involved. In the February number Canon Milanese treats the question of the origin of the human family with great sense and erudition; the supporters of the bestial theory of human nature and origins have appealed noisily to facts: to the tribunal of facts it is high time they were made to go, and receive their judgment. In the March number of the *Rivista Internazionale*, Professor Bianchi explains the importance and the difficulty of preserving peasant owners against the two great dangers of subdivision and selling up; rightly praises the new German laws of succession to small properties, and the American Homestead Exemption Laws (most of the American farmers are in fact though not in name peasants); also calls attention to the projects of home colonisation, or, as we should say in England, the creation of small holdings, which for us is one of the most urgent social reforms. Finally, in the April number the well-known Catholic Economist, Professor Toniolo, of Pisa begins a study, which promises to be full of interest, on "l'Economia Capitalistica Moderna," perhaps best rendered in English as the Modern Reign of Money. Certainly Italian Catholics deserve to be congratulated on their new periodical; and we whose native speech is English must hope that

before long there may be in America, if not in England, a Catholic organ devoted to setting forth the principles of social science according to the clear and abundant teachings of Leo XIII.

The Christian Social Union and its Organ.—Meanwhile we should follow with interest and sympathy the efforts of the better-minded among our non-Catholic fellow-countrymen, and try to supply the needful supplement or correction to what, with only dim lights to guide them, they are doing in the way of social reform. The *Economic Review*, to which I have more than once directed attention, has now reached its third year, and may be considered for matters of social science as the organ of the Church of England, being published for the Christian Social Union, an association limited to members of that Church. For the January number Mr. Ludlow writes an instructive paper on "Building Societies," which used to be looked on as one of the fairest products of our civilization and a grand example of self-help, but which, alas! like most things human, have become subject to abuses; and often, instead of being the means for working-men to become their own landlords, or to make a safe and honest investment of their savings, building societies have been the means of gambling among the members and of fraudulent enrichment among the promoters. The law has hitherto invited abuses and left the members helpless in the hands of managers and officers; many suggestions for its reform are given by Mr. Ludlow, and some of them have been adopted in the bill regarding building societies now before Parliament.

Lord Wantage and his Work.—Of still wider interest is the article by Lord Wantage, entitled "A few Theories carried into Practice," and showing what can be done by a wealthy, intelligent and resident landlord to restore healthy village life, and prevent the disastrous drain of men into the towns which is a national peril. The author points out one aspect of the evil and a remedy for it:

Those who buy what the farmer has to sell are unfortunately generally not those who live on the land and cultivate the farms. The downs are covered with sheep and the pasture lands with cattle. There is abundance of milk, which goes every day to London, but frequently not a pint of it can be purchased in the localities from whence it comes. Until the meat stores were started in this district, not a morsel of mutton or even a pound of suet could find its way into the labourers' kitchens without their going to the neighbouring town to fetch it, and the bacon there bought generally came from America. In all these matters the labourer has been ill-used, but more from apathy and a lack of thoughtful con-

sideration than from any other cause. What appears to be wanting is a large increase of co-operative institutions, factories, as well as stores, where capable men should have charge of works for grinding and dressing wheat, making butter, baking bread, purveying meat, milk, eggs, butter, &c. The storekeepers should be buyers as well as sellers, and in all cases should have fixed salaries, with a share in the profits of the business done. (P. 29.)

Now Lord Wantage has not confined himself to saying what ought to be done, but has done it; and by starting co-operative stores at Ardington, a remote village amid the Berkshire downs, has delivered his people from the three evils of shop debts, bad articles, and depraved tastes. On the latter, listen to the following passage:

When the stores were first started, the demands of the village people were almost invariably for American produce, such as bacon, tinned meats, cheese, &c., it appearing to be the habit and the interest of the small tradespeople to deal more in these articles than in native produce, the former being cheaper and leaving more room for a profit. The taste of our customers, however, now goes in the direction of English produce, and American tinned meats and bacon are rejected for English bacon and the less choice parts of fresh meat, which are far better, and, in the end, more economical. A butcher's shop is associated with the co-operative stores, which is supplied with prime meat from the adjoining farms, the labourers being thus customers of the farmer or landlord on whose land they work. The unsold parts of the meat are made into sausages, which are very popular, and require only the simplest cooking (p. 31).

Most wisely also Lord Wantage says a little further on:

The interests of all classes would be better promoted if landowners and farmers would endeavour to create around their own homes a market supported by the mechanics and labourers of the district, who would become the farmers' best customers. The object in view is to develop village life, making each large village an independent self-supporting centre, where all necessary industries can be carried on, and where men earning good wages can become the customers of the farmers for whom they work (p. 35).

It ought to be added that this reconstruction of the village market and village life has, both as a condition and a consequence, the restoration of a multitude of small holdings, to which proposition I think Lord Wantage would give his full assent.

How to deal with Alcohol.—The question of the drink traffic is still as burning as ever, and it is unfortunate that among Catholics there is so little agreement on a common line of action against an evil which brings so many of our homes to ruin. In both the January and April numbers of the *Economic Review* there is information on the subject, and all pointing to the same conclusion, that reform is possible, and should be in the shape of much fewer

and thoroughly respectable public-houses, and of good liquor; in particular, that only high-priced and unadulterated spirits should be sold. Lord Wantage has here again given us an example, and has for some time, to use the current phrase, run a tavern in the interests of temperance. The system of American high-licensing described by Mr. Fremantle (p. 114-117 of the January number) would, if reasonably worked, put all public-houses under the control of men bound by the strong inducement of the pocket to make their premises model houses of refreshment. And the clear account (in the April number) of the alcohol monopoly in Switzerland, gives us an example that seems by no means impossible to follow. Carried in the year 1887 by a referendum vote of 267,122 against 138,496, the monopoly of importing and distilling spirits was given to the government; the thorny question of compensation was compromised by the distillers being satisfied with about 45 per cent. of what they asked; the quantity of spirits sold has been reduced by about 20 to 25 per cent., the price being raised, and moreover the quality being much improved, with less risk of injury to health or of exciting a crave for more drink; and the law has rendered the combat easier for those who are fighting against intemperance.

The Weak Point in Church of England Economics.—But while we find so much to praise and admire in this Church of England periodical, we are ever and anon reminded that all rests on an uncertain foundation, and that the writers are confused in their ideas and wavering in their principles. Our business, especially now that we have the lucid encyclicals of Leo XIII. for our guidance, is to help those excellent strivers after social reform, by turning some of the rays of light from Italy to illuminate the London fog. Thus, when the author of the excellent article I have just been considering speaks of the alcohol monopoly as "the greatest step which the Swiss have yet taken in Socialism," we should suggest to him to give a definition of Socialism, and to consider whether this Swiss legislation against alcoholism—legislation which is quite in accord with the functions of the State as laid down by the Pope—deserves to be called socialistic. For Socialism in its most conspicuous form, in the form that now threatens Germany with ruin, is atheistic; as is perfectly recognised by Pope Leo in his condemnations and by Herr Bebel in his affirmations, as when not long ago, in a grand debate in the Reichstag, this leader of the Socialists ended his speech with the notorious lines of Heine, the last of which we may render—

On earth beneath we'll have enough,
 And pile with fruit our barrows;
 The world above we'll gladly leave
 To angels and to sparrows.

Then, again, in a review of the Duke of Argyll's recent work, Mr. Sydney Ball complains that "the Duke's argument is vitiated by the conception of the fixity of human nature." Does the reviewer then forget that in the ordinary sense of language the "fixity of human nature" is a fundamental doctrine of Christian religion? Indeed, amid the many faults of the Duke of Argyll's book one conspicuous merit is precisely the author's insistence on the fact and the importance of recognising in social science that man's nature is corrupted, that he is prone to evil from his youth.*

Finally, Mr. Lyttleton having written some very fair articles on population, he is exposed to criticisms which would have come well from John Stuart Mill, but which look strange in an avowedly Christian periodical; and show that the "intellectual and spiritual hospitality," for which, in the same January number of the *Economic Review*, the Bishop of Durham praises the Church of England, admits some strange guests to her table.

Charles Kingsley as an Economist.—In connection with the social activity and writings of members of the Church of England, we should call attention to a monograph by the Rev. M. Kaufmann, entitled, "Charles Kingsley, Christian Socialist and Reformer," Methuen & Co., 1892. It is difficult for Catholics to have patience with Kingsley, so outrageous and disgusting was his language towards them during most of his life, so monstrous the falsehoods concerning them which in his blindness and folly he so readily believed and so mischievously propagated. But even in purely religious matters he was no irreconcilable foe; on the contrary, as he grew older and the illusions and hopes of his youth faded away, and when the image of Popery he had kept before him was shown, after Cardinal Newman's "Apologia," to be the vilest of caricatures; then he seemed gradually approaching the portals of Holy Church, but was cut off by a premature death. The readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW will remember an admirable article in the number for July 1890 on the origins and course of Kingsley's religious views. Here we are only concerned with his economic views, and in this aspect he deserves our admiration and sympathy. True that here also appear some of the characteristic failings of his youth, his inaccuracy

* For an excellent review, evidently by a Catholic hand, of the Duke of Argyll's "Unseen Foundations of Society," we can refer our readers to the April number of the *Quarterly Review*.

and want of logical and critical power, his optimism and illusions, his insolent and violent language. Indeed, he later on confessed with shame and sorrow

the proud, self-willed, self-conceited spirit which made no allowance for other men's weakness or ignorance; nor again for their superior experience and wisdom on points which I had never considered—which took a pride in shocking and startling and defying, and hitting as hard as I could, and fancied blasphemously, as I think, that the Word of God had come to me only, and went out from me only. (Cited *l.c.* p. 171.)

But then there was much excuse for his violence, for he lived in the England of the fifties, when the poorer classes both in the country and in the manufacturing regions were sunk in a state of misery and degradation the like of which had never been seen since the days of Pagan slavery in the Roman Empire. And what even Paganism had not witnessed was a so-called science teaching loudly that these infamies were part of the nature of things, and stigmatising as fools and fanatics those who sought for a remedy. It required heroic courage in those days to attack that political economy which was then a demigod, though now a broken idol; and three men of great literary powers risked their good name in the attack, namely, Carlyle, Kingsley, and a little later Mr. Ruskin. Of the three, Kingsley has the credit of not having, like the other two, in their avoiding the Scylla of *laissez faire*, fallen into the Charybdis of State Socialism; and yet is equally vigorous in his attack on the miserable delusion that strutted about as modern enlightenment. Thus in the tract on "Cheap Clothes and Nasty" ("a tract full of raving," according to the wise *Edinburgh* reviewer of the day), he wrote:

Sweet competition! Heavenly maid! Nowadays hymned alike by penny-a-liners and philosophers as the ground of all society—the only real preserver of all the earth! Why not of heaven too? Perhaps there is competition among the angels, and Gabriel and Raphael have won their rank by doing the maximum of worship on the minimum of grace. We shall know some day. In the meanwhile, "these are thy works, thou parent of all good"! Man eating man, eaten by man, in every variety of degree and method.

But Kingsley's great merit is not so much in his denunciations of untruths as in his assertion of certain true principles of fundamental importance, that political economy is a moral science intimately connected with religion; that public welfare needs an upper class, but also the performance by that class of its social duties, property being "held in fief of God"; that women are not to be assimilated to men in the social system; above all, that religion and the clergy have a great part to play in social reform, and that Christianity is

the regenerating influence in society. In his earlier days, in "Alton Locke," he exclaims in the person of one of his characters:

If they would be truly priests of God, the priests of the universal Church, they must be priests of the people, priests of the masses. . . . The people can never be themselves without co-operation with the priesthood; and the priesthood can never be themselves without co-operation with the people.

And of his later years his biographer thus writes:

The great lesson Kingsley tried to impress on his hearers in the crowded lecture-room in Cambridge was the same as that which Ozanam, placed in a similar position, and as unfairly criticised at times by opponents, tried to convey to his pupils at the Sorbonne, that the future welfare of society depends on a new outbreak of the latent forces of Christ's religion. (P. 238.)

We must add, what Mr. Kaufmann by his position cannot add, that whereas Ozanam, when he spoke of "Christ's religion," knew well what he meant, Kingsley was hesitating and obscure, his knowledge of the truths of Christianity being imperfect, his hold on them uncertain, his inconsistencies flagrant. No wonder he laid himself open to criticism; no wonder he was ill at ease when preaching to a Cambridge audience. But as I have already said, the progression of his mind was upwards; in the words of Cardinal Newman in the touching letter on Kingsley's death, he was "nearing the Catholic view of things"; and we may well think that had he lived to our own times, and witnessed on one side the growth of irreligious Socialism and the impotence of irreligious political economy to answer it, and on the other side the chief pastor of Christendom setting forth so clearly the Christian principles of social life, he would have seen where his better aspirations and his zeal for the welfare of the suffering multitudes could find their fulfilment, and would have begged for admission into that Church which in his earlier ignorance and passion he had so often reviled.

CHARLES S. DEVAS.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

American Exploration of Greenland : "In Arctic Seas" (by Robert N. Keely, jun., M.D.), recently published in London by Messrs. Gay & Bird, gives some interesting details of the Peary Expedition in 1891, together with much that is new and valuable in regard to the climate, physical features, and inhabitants of Northern Greenland. The idea of the expedition originated with Lieutenant Robert Peary, U.S.N., who contributed largely from his own resources to its equipment, the rest of the necessary funds being supplied by the Academy of Sciences of Philadelphia. The explorer and his party, including his wife, were landed with the requisite stores on Murchison Sound, 76° North latitude, in the end of July 1891, there to go into winter quarters. The spring and summer were to be spent in exploration, and the party were to make their way back to the Danish settlements in Southern Greenland in two whaleboats, left for the purpose. The scientific body which sent them out having, however, wisely concluded that the latter part of the programme involved too much risk and hardship, despatched a Relief Expedition in the summer of 1892 to bring the enterprising adventurers home, the *Kite*, which had conveyed them to their destination, being commissioned for that purpose.

The account of Lieutenant Peary's exploration of the inland ice on which he crossed Greenland in a north-easterly direction on a line intersecting the eighty-second parallel, is the most novel portion of the narrative contained in the present volume. From the spot selected for his camp, on the sea level at the head of McCormick Bay, in about 77° N. lat., the land, which is there free from ice and in summer covered with grass and flowers, rises abruptly for some 2000 ft. to the level of the desolate plateau of the interior. On scaling the rugged ascent, a vast plain was seen stretching as far as the eye could reach, covered to within a mile or two of its edge with the immemorial ice-cap. The ground in front of the ice was composed of stones and pebbles with scarcely any intermixture of soil, yet even here a few stunted poppies and buttercups had struggled into blossom. Absolute solitude reigned over the desert of ice, as no living thing can find sustenance upon it, and the portions of Greenland habitable for men or animals are only the strips of coast land fringing its inland steeps. The ice-cap is in

general perfectly smooth, rising by an imperceptible slope to a height of 6000 to 8000 ft. above the sea, but where its convex is broken by the basins of the great fiords running far into the interior, it falls in rugged and precipitous slopes to the vast glaciers discharging into them. Long détours had consequently to be made to avoid these ice-basins, considerably deflecting the line of march in several places. The journey was accomplished by Lieutenant Peary with a single companion, Mr. Eivard Astrup, a young Norwegian, a sledge and team of dogs being their sole means of transport for provisions and other necessities. The start was made on May 3, and on July 4 the opposite side of the Arctic highlands was reached at the head of a great inlet called Independence Bay in honour of the anniversary. Camp was reached again on August 5, the travellers having made a march of 1700 miles on the double journey. They were met on the last day's march by some of the Relief Expedition who had advanced some distance on the ice when they encountered them. Despite the hardships of a trip made without shelter and for some distance at 8000 ft. above the sea, both travellers returned in perfect health and vigour. Their team, described as "wild wolves, miscalled dogs," had given much trouble in the beginning, sometimes breaking away altogether, and only recaptured with much difficulty and at the cost of severe bites inflicted in the struggle. A disease to which the breed is liable carried off, too, a great many of them, and their number was reduced from thirteen to five before the end of the march.

Results of Lieutenant Peary's Expedition.—The American exploration of the Greenland ice differs from that of Dr. Nansen's in 1888, in having been undertaken much farther north, within a hundred miles of the extreme limit reached by man, while the Norwegian traveller's line of march lay south of the Arctic circle. Its geographical results are consequently incomparably more valuable, as they contribute to our knowledge of the most inaccessible regions of our planet. The most important fact, which may be regarded as conclusively established by Lieutenant Peary, is the insular character of Greenland, and consequent probability of the absence of land of any extent about the Pole. His march lay sufficiently near the northern extremity of the supposed Arctic continent, and his view in all directions was sufficiently extensive to convince him of this, and to enable him to fill up with approximate accuracy the blanks in its coast line between the points at which it has been hitherto touched. This item of knowledge is in itself an invaluable

contribution to the future of hyperborean research, since it proves that there is no hope of finding in this direction that coast-line trending north, regarded as a *sine quâ non* to furnish a breakwater against the drift of the polar pack. Lieutenant Peary, in his report, claims to have effected the delineation of the wholly or partially unknown shores of Inglefield Gulf and Whale Sound, as well as of the northern extension of the great Greenland ice-cap, and to have ascertained the northern limit of the mainland of Greenland, as well as the rapid convergence of its shores above the 78th parallel, and the existence of detached ice-free land masses to the north of it. A large extent of the inland ice was also surveyed and its relief investigated, while a considerable number of glaciers of the first magnitude were discovered by him. Other scientific observations of great interest were made by the experts on the expedition, which brought home an interesting collection of specimens, botanical, zoological, and mineralogical. The only disaster that befell it was the mysterious loss of one of its members, Mr. Verhoeff, its naturalist and mineralogist. Having started alone on an exploratory trip a few days before the date fixed for sailing for home, he never reappeared, and an active search continued in all directions for seven days failed to discover his whereabouts. Some traces of him were, indeed, found on one of the glaciers, but nothing conclusive as to his fate, and the party were compelled to leave without further ascertaining it, as the ice was threatening to block their homeward route. There is some reason to believe that he deliberately hid himself in order to prosecute exploration and research on his own account, having learned that he would not be permitted to remain behind by the leader of the expedition.

The Greenland Eskimos.—The American explorers lived on terms of the greatest amity with the few and scattered tribes of natives to the north of the Danish settlements, who have been rarely visited by Europeans. The largest of their villages is at Cape York, and consists of about a dozen skin, or summer, houses, and twenty stone huts, used only in winter. The inhabitants quickly swarmed on board the ship, anxious to trade all articles of native workmanship, even to their children's toys, for needles, knives, and such small hardware. The younger children caused great amusement by the avidity with which they munched raw birds given them by the sailors, seeming to enjoy them as a civilised child does cakes or candy. After finishing the bird, they invariably rubbed the greasy skin over their faces, as they are taught to do from infancy, since

the coating of fat renders the exposed skin less sensitive to the extreme cold of winter. The ludicrousness of this proceeding was enhanced by its consequences, as some of the feathers remained sticking to the faces of the small aborigines, giving them a most comical appearance. The natives of the village near Whale Sound, where the expedition wintered, showed great grief at its departure, though consoled by the present of such useful commodities as must have rendered the tribe opulent for generations. The lack of both wood and iron makes any implement containing these substances an incalculable treasure to the poor people, and much ingenuity is displayed by them in supplementing their scanty resources in these respects. Joy and excitement produce a curious physical effect upon these savages, causing them to bleed violently at the nose, and the visits of the ship created quite an epidemic of such attacks among them. North of the 73rd parallel, at which the dominion of Denmark ceases, only three groups of natives are known to exist, with an aggregate population of less than 200. In the Danish settlements they number about 10,000, and have assimilated a certain amount of civilisation. At Godthaab they profess Christianity, and their services are performed in their own language by a native preacher. A monthly newspaper is also printed there in Eskimo, of which the publishing, editing, and printing are all done by natives, while the woodcuts with which it is illustrated are also the work of Eskimo engravers. Its name means "That which should be read," and this injunction seems to be obeyed, as it has a large circulation, from Upernavik in the north, to Julienshaab in the south of Danish Greenland. They are very fond of music and dancing, and a ball, in which every man, woman, and child in the settlement takes part, is held every Sunday evening in one of the workshops of Godthaab.

The Island of Saghalien.—The *New York Tribune* gives an interesting account of this isolated fragment of Russian territory, now her principal convict depot in the Pacific. A long irregular strip of land, 560 miles in length, with an average breadth of 60 miles, ranging from a maximum of 120 to a minimum of 17 miles, it extends from the mouth of the Amur southward to the 45th parallel. Despite a latitude which thus corresponds nearly to that of Great Britain, and a similar insular position, its winters are as severe as those of St. Petersburg, and vegetation is consequently scanty, forests of oak, pine, and maple existing only in the extreme south, or in the most sheltered lowlands. Its surface is broken by numerous mountain chains, with an average height of about 2000

feet, some peaks rising a thousand feet higher. The coast is generally cliff-bound, and sandbanks are found only in the north. Despite the scantiness of the vegetation, the island is so rich in game as to be styled "a hunter's paradise," bears, sables, squirrels, deer, and hares being found in abundance. While the rivers are poorly supplied with fish, the sea teems with many varieties, and the sealing and whaling industries, which have subsisted for fifty years back, have attained considerable dimensions, 100 large vessels being employed in the latter, and many millions of roubles annually realised by it. The Russian occupation dates only from 1853, previous to which the interior had only been inhabited by a few thousand Mongolian nomads of various tribes, who lived principally by fishing and hunting, but have now, in some places, devoted themselves to raising vegetables and garden produce. There is also a considerable maritime population of Japanese, most of whom come only for the fishing season, leaving their camps and outfits in charge of the natives when they annually return to their homes. There are also two permanent Japanese settlements on the southern coast, the main industry of one of which is the manufacture of a valuable fertiliser from herrings, caught in vast quantities in the adjoining seas.

The Convict Population.—The isolated position of Saghalien, bounded by the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan, separated by the Straits of Laperouse from the northernmost island of the Japanese Archipelago, and from the Asiatic mainland by the Gulf of Tartary, with a minimum breadth of five miles, rendered it especially suitable for a penal colony. Hither, consequently, the worst class of Russian criminals are deported in annually increasing numbers, now averaging a thousand every year. They are divided into two batches of five hundred each, and as since 1884 many of them have been allowed the privilege of taking their wives and families with them, the system has been the foundation of the colonisation of the island. Although the sentence on the convicts is usually one of hard labour on the coal-fields or public works for life, it is in most cases commuted after a term of years into one of simple exile, when the released prisoner is allowed to settle down as a comparatively free man. Many of them become prosperous settlers, owning farms and land, with nothing to distinguish them from the rest of the community save that they are excluded from official society. One man, we are told, who had been a desperate bandit in the heart of Little Russia, died a few years ago, leaving

100 head of cattle, with many acres of fine pasture, and five houses, to his son and daughter, the former of whom is, moreover, being educated at Vladivostock at the expense of the government, preparatory to being sent to study at the School of Mines at St. Petersburg. Free Russian immigrants have also settled in Saghalien, and it is now dotted over with villages, mostly averaging from twenty to one hundred houses. The largest settlement, Rikoff, situated on a river, contains 300 habitations, a large church, a saw-mill, flour-mill, and many other industrial establishments. The island is ruled by a Governor with very large discretionary powers, and is divided into three administrative districts.

The French Soudan.—The most important result of the recent operations in the French Soudan, of which Colonel Achinard has been made Governor, is the prospect it gives of opening up a route from the Niger to Timbuktu. The subjugation of the country of Macina practically places the Tuareg capital, which no European has been allowed to enter for twelve years, in the hands of the French, as it is commercially dependent on the conquered tribes. A French protectorate will therefore probably be accepted by the chief of Timbuktu, and its territory annexed to the Senegal Government.

Commercial Future of Uganda.—An interesting address by Captain Jephson, on "Trade Prospects in Uganda," is reported in Vol. 8 of the Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society. He describes it as a country which, from its elevation, about 4,000 feet above the sea, is healthy and not excessively hot as compared to India or Australia, while the soil is capable of producing anything. Coffee grows wild there, and the neighbouring Egyptian provinces draw their supply thence. The tea shrub may possibly find a congenial climate in some parts of the interior, and tobacco, which is grown everywhere by the natives, might be cultivated on a very large scale, while an unlimited quantity of oil can be manufactured, as ground nuts grow in profusion. The trade in ivory, of which Uganda has long been the centre of distribution, is not in his opinion likely to become extinct, judging from the immense herds of elephants in the forests of Emin's province and other districts within the British sphere of influence. Cotton he regards, however, as the great future product of Central Africa, as it grows so freely and gives so large a yield that a very small area of production provides for the wants of the natives. Even half this limited crop is not

consumed, as the process of manufacture on very rough and primitive hand-loom is an extremely slow one. A strong soft texture, almost as warm as flannel, is thus produced, which, when shown by the speaker to a Blackburn manufacturer, was pronounced to be of very good quality. Of course the development of all these natural resources is entirely contingent on the construction of a railway to the coast, as the present cost of transport is prohibitive, and Captain Jephson expressed himself as desirous of helping to create a public feeling on the subject, so strong that no government could venture to disregard it.

Exploration of the Congo.—The same journal contains a paper by Mr. Howard Reed on "The Discovery and Exploration of the Congo," bringing our knowledge of the geography of the basin of the great stream up to date. The most important work in the study of its southern tributaries was that of Major Wissmann, who, in July, 1884, travelled eastward from the West Coast by way of the Kwanza River, and after leaving that stream struck the Lulua, and founded on it a station and centre of exploration which he called Luluaburg. On May 25, in the following year, the descent of the Kasai was commenced by an expedition numbering 200 men, in a steel boat brought in sections from the coast, and with a flotilla of twenty canoes built at Luluaburg. On June 6 the mouth of a great tributary was reached, which joins the main stream in two arms 830 and 1000 yards wide, and proved to be the Sankuru. The Kasai runs in a north-westerly direction below the junction, attaining in places a width of 3300 yards. The Congo was reached after forty-three days' journey down the stream, whose confluence was found to be what had been called the mouth of the Kwa, in $3^{\circ} 13' S.$, not, as previously supposed, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Equator. The Kasai, with its great branch, the Sankuru, subsequently explored by Dr. Wolf, adds several hundred miles to the navigable waterways of the Congo basin, and it has, since Major Wissman's exploration, been ascended by Sir Francis de Winton with two steamers as far as Luluaburg.

An English missionary, the Rev. George Grenfell, has effected a valuable series of voyages of discovery in the little mission steamer *Peace*. On the south of the great river, as Mr. Reed tells us,

He ascended the Lubilash or Boloko for some 200 miles, the Lulonga with its branches for 500 miles, the Chuapo and its feeders for 500 miles, the Lukualli or Kwango for over 200 miles, besides several other smaller streams. His most important work, however, was the discovery and exploration, through about five degrees of latitude, of the great northern

tributary, the Ubangi. This river, which joins the main stream about half a degree to the south of the Equator, follows, for a considerable distance before the confluence, the same general trend as the main river. In consequence of this fact, Mr. Grenfell, when steaming up the Congo along the northern bank, actually ascended the Ubangi for about 100 miles before he realised that he had left the main stream and had unknowingly discovered a new and extensive river. He followed the new-found stream for about 350 miles, when he reached the Zongo Cataracts, which barred his further progress.

This river has been since found to be identical with the Welle River, discovered in 1870 by Dr. Schweinfurth in his journey through Monbuttu Land, and at first supposed by Stanley to be the Aruwimi. The problem was finally solved in 1889 by Captain Van Gele, an officer of the Congo State, who first attacked it in 1887. He succeeded in that year in dragging his little steamer, the *En Avant*, past the Zongo Cataracts, found by him to be six in number, and extending over a distance of twenty-four miles. The hostility of the natives compelled him to turn back, after reaching a point within sixty or seventy miles of Junker's farthest on the Welle, where he found the river no less than 7800 feet wide. Returning in the following year, he bridged this gap and cleared up one of the still outstanding riddles of African hydrography. The importance of the various discoveries may be gauged by the fact that a railway 250 miles long is already in course of construction to turn the rapids of the Lower Congo, and that some thirty steamers are plying on the upper reaches of the river.

New Route to Australia.—The Canadian Pacific Railway was always regarded as a link between the American and Australasian colonies of England, and the gap in the line of communication is now bridged by the establishment of a steamer service between Vancouver and Sydney. The scheme has originated in Australia with the New Zealand and Australian Steamship Company, formed last year, with its headquarters at Sydney. The alternative of a route which eliminates the passage through the Red Sea, and curtails the long and monotonous sea voyage by the interpolation of an easy and interesting railway journey, will, it is believed, be largely availed of by passenger traffic, which is what is aimed at in the first instance. Goods traffic will probably develop later, as it has done between Vancouver and Japan, to such an extent that the steamers are freighted almost to their utmost capacity. It is thought that Australian beef and mutton will supersede that of Washington and Oregon in the markets of British Columbia, while Australia

would take from Canada agricultural implements, machinery, and soft timber. The duration of the journey from Liverpool to Sydney will be thirty-three and a half days, divided into a sea voyage of six days to Montreal, a land journey of six and a half thence to Vancouver, and a second sea passage of twenty-one days to Sydney. The Canadian Government promise a subsidy of £25,000 a year, and nearly as much is hoped for from the Australasian Colonies.

Agriculture in the Vale of Kashmir.—The fertility of this valley, lying snugly ensconced among the Himalayas at an altitude of 5000 feet, has always been proverbial. Traversed throughout its length of nearly 100 miles by the Jhelum, one of the "Five Streams" of the Punjab, and expanding between unbroken mountain barriers to a width of from twenty to thirty miles, it is believed, according to a writer in the *New York Tribune*, to be the bed of an ancient lake, the traces of whose terraced beaches can still be made out. Steep lateral valleys formed by the tributaries of the main river, debouch into it, and give access to many picturesque coigns of vantage among its mountain scenery. The bottoms of the nullahs or water-courses are the spots in greatest demand for rice culture, owing to the facilities offered by them for irrigation, and this cereal is cultivated at elevations of over 6000 feet above the sea. It is sold at an almost nominal price, as 144 lbs. of the paddy or grain still in the husk may be bought for a rupee, representing after cleaning about 85 lbs. of edible rice. The completion of the railway from the Indian frontier, now in progress, will open up a market to the cultivators which will afford them a much larger profit. Notwithstanding this plenty, the taxes have at times been so high as to reduce the people to starvation, and when driven by their misery to killing cattle for food whole boat-loads of them were taken out and drowned in the lake for this offence against the precepts of the Hindu religion, inculcating the sanctity of the cow. Although excellent claret is made under the directions of a Frenchman in the service of the Maharaja, only about 150 acres are planted with vines, by which a large revenue might be earned from the export of wine to India. The opening of the railway will effect a revolution in this respect also, and will counteract the misrule and oppression which have caused the population of this garden of the East to dwindle down during the last half-century to half the figures at which it previously stood.

Exploration in Egypt.—Mr. Ernest Floyer describes in the *Geographical Journal* the expedition organized by the late Khedive in 1891, which surveyed over 23,000 square miles of desert between the Nile and the Red Sea. The party started from Assuan and reached the coast near the ancient port of Berenice, whence they travelled northward to Kosseir, exploring the country to considerable distances from the main route. Its features consist of a very gradual slope of the sandstone plain upwards from the Nile, culminating in a ridge 7000 feet high, from which it falls more steeply to the sea-coast. The population is scanty, and the water-supply contained in "gults," as the natural reservoirs of rain-water are called. Sheep are fed on the foliage of acacias growing in the valleys among the hills. Ibexes abound, the wild ass still exists, and ostriches have only disappeared within the last twenty years. The mountain mass of porphyry and granite frowning above Berenice shows signs of comparatively recent volcanic activity, though now absolutely quiescent. Mines described 2000 years ago as even then of the greatest antiquity, can still be traced, and Mr. Floyer infers from the geological study of the country that the Troglodytes of Herodotus were not cave-dwellers but miners, whose ancient workings were followed up by the Ptolemaic seekers after mineral treasures. The character of some of the names, which are not Semitic, suggests that the prehistoric miners may have belonged to some of the negro races, who are still mineral workers in Southern Kordofan. Mountain cones of quartz, gneiss, and basalt crop up from the sand, and hills formed of flakes of sandstone on edge are described as looking like mountains of brown paper. The country explored is little known, and almost without food, although the beaten track between Kosseir and the Nile is now marked out in kilometres. One of the five peaks of Jebel Ferayleg, the *Pentadaktylon oros* of Ptolemy Claudius, was named by Mr. Floyer Purdy Peak, in memory of the officer who mapped out the region in 1878.

Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

GERMANY.

BY CANON BELLESHEIM, OF AACHEN.

Katholik.—In March issue we have an article devoted to the poems of Leo XIII. Oscar Blank follows up his contributions on the image of Our Blessed Lady as exhibited in the paintings of the Catacombs. These paintings furnish authentic proofs of the Church's doctrine and high veneration paid to the Blessed Virgin. F. Racke, S.J., has a valuable contribution on those truths of Christianity which claim to be urged upon the attention of the faithful, especially in respect of certain errors of social democracy. Canon Höhler, of Limburg, continues his suggestive articles on the test to be applied to the investigations of ecclesiastical history. For illustrating his thesis, and fully establishing the immense difference between the Catholic and Protestant standpoint, he applies to Dr. Harnack, of Berlin, who, although professor of Protestant theology, goes so far as to deny not a few Christian doctrines, especially the divinity of Our Lord. A Catholic, says Dr. Harnack, is bound by the authority of his Church, but a Protestant is depending only on his own authority and judgment. It is to this judgment that he subjects any Christian doctrines which he accepts or rejects, according to his historical investigation. The latter only is his ultimate criterion. Among Catholics it was the late Professor Dollinger who unduly overrated the value of a mere historical test; on the other side there is scarcely to be found any scholar or bishop who has opposed this oneness more vigorously than the late lamented Cardinal Manning in his pastorals and other writings published during the controversies connected with the Vatican Council. In the April issue Professor Schmid, of the Episcopal Seminary in Brixen, known to the public by his eminent work on the "Inspiration of the Bible" and other minor essays on intricate questions of dogmatic theology, contributes a pithy article entitled, "Some Reflexions on the Convening of General Councils in Christian Antiquity." We may take for granted that the first eight General Councils were convened by the Emperors. But nothing could be hence deduced against the right perpetually inherent in the Holy See of convening and presiding over General Councils. On the other hand, there is no lack of evidence to testify to the fact that the Holy See in one way or other took part in the convening of the first

eight General Councils. Professor Baeumker, an eminent Catholic philosopher at the University of Breslau, has just edited an unpublished mediæval work. It is "*Avencebrolis (Ibn Gebirol) Fons Vitæ ex Arabico in Latinum translatus.*" The "*Fons Vitæ*" holds a prominent place in mediæval philosophy, since it mainly emphasized a proposition which urged itself on the attention of Christian philosophers—viz., that all beings, corporal as well as spiritual, are made up of matter and form. This proposition was one of the most noteworthy points of controversy between Franciscans and Dominicans, the former accepting it, the latter, on the contrary, limiting it to the corporal creation. Another notice is devoted to the "*Matrikal der Universität Rostock,*" as edited by Dr. Hofmeister. Founded in 1419, the University very soon rose to a highly flourishing condition, and was visited by many foreigners, amongst whom there were not a few Scotchmen.

Historisch-politische Blätter.—A thoughtful article is devoted to Pauline von Mallinkrodt, whose life has been recently written by Alfred Hüffer. She was sister to Herr von Mallinkrodt, the well-known leader of the Catholics in the German diet, and was foundress of the congregation of the Daughters of Charity. On her death, April 30, 1881, she left not less than eighty-eight houses in Europe and America, with 948 sisters devoting their lives to the education of girls and the nursing of the poor. The first article in the April issue furnishes a thorough criticism on Gregorovius's "*Römische Tagebücher.*" To the English colony in Rome the name and works of Ferdinand Gregorovius are well known. These Roman Diaries are a fascinating work, but full of wanton attacks on Pius IX., which the critic has duly pointed out and rejected. In another article we find traced the history of the Catholic University of Freiburg (Switzerland). Another article is occupied with Mrs. Morgan O'Connell's "*Life of Count O'Connell,*" the last colonel of the Irish Brigade. We may also mention the articles on M. Manitius, "*Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie*" (Stuttgart, 1891), which deals with the old Irish and Anglo-Saxon poetry; and on F. Pfülf's biography of M. de Mallinkrodt (Freiburg: Herder, 1892). The latter contains valuable lessons for the Catholic nobility in all countries.

Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).—F. Michael, S.J., in a useful article, vindicates some mediæval Popes against Dr. Dollinger's unjustifiable attacks. "*Reordinations,*"

as they are commonly styled, turn out to be simply solemn reconciliations and permissions to exercise an order validly but not lawfully received at the hands of a schismatical bishop. F. Zimmermann passes a severe but well-deserved censure on Professor Nippold's (Jena) defects as a Church historian. To F. Nilles we owe a learned Latin dissertation: *Tolerari potest. De Juridico valore decreti tolerantie commentarius*, which owes its origin to the American school question. Professor Schmid discusses the question whether we are able to aid *effectively* the souls of the departed.

FRANCE.

Études Religieuses. Jan.-Mai, 1893. Paris: V. Retaux et Fils.
L'Université Catholique. Jan.-Avril, 1893. Lyon: E. Vitte.

The Bible and Modern Criticism.—We put these two periodicals together that we may borrow from the latter an account of a discussion on the "Question Biblique," which is apparently arousing warm interest among French Catholics at this moment, and in which the *Études* plays a part. There is no more conspicuous man just now among French Catholics than Bishop Freppel's successor at the Chamber of Deputies, Mgr. d'Hulst, the able Rector of the Paris Catholic Institute. Recently, to the *Correspondant*, he contributed a popular article* on the authority of the Bible in face of modern rationalist criticism whether scientific or historical, maintaining that it has nothing to fear from either, if the true nature of inspiration is remembered, and the object for which the Bible was written. Passing through some preliminary matter, the gist of the article comes, when having showed that in Catholic teaching God is the principal author of the books of the Bible, Mgr. d'Hulst asks: Is, then, God responsible for *all* that the Bible contains? It contains doctrines and also facts. Its teachings in the matters of faith and morals we know are divine; are also its facts both historical and scientific? Catholic exegetes are, he says, in their reply to this, divisible into three groups. 1. The traditional school, who maintain the exactitude, because of the divine authorship, of every statement in the biblical text, at least if taken in its rational (which may not always be its literal) sense. 2. The broad school (*l'école large*), which admits that there are inexact statements in the Bible. Inspiration extends throughout, but is the guarantee of infallibility

* Now published separately: "La Question Biblique." Par Mgr. d'Hulst. Paris: Poussielgue, 1893. 1 franc.

only in matters pertaining to faith and morals ; particularly, there is no scientific revelation in the Bible, &c. 3. The *via media* (l'école d'opinion moyenne) which "regards the question in a better light," also "est plus sage, et sera probablement plus féconde en progrès." This school extends the effects of inspiration widely enough ; but the intervention of the Holy Spirit in the composition of the sacred books having been with the object of instructing men in salvation, it does not seem to be *à priori* impossible to reconcile the fact of inspiration with the presence in the text of certain documents of purely human origin, the value of which has yet to be verified. But in the application of this principle, Mgr. d'Hulst not only bespeaks care and prudence, but animadverts severely on many of the rationalist hypotheses and the too frequent rash and reckless application of unverified hypotheses. There is no possibility of here reproducing this cautionary portion of the article ; sufficient of it may be read, quoted in the *Université Catholique* for April, from which we ourselves are summarising.

Such an expression of opinion was sure to give rise to opposition. The Abbé Jaughey, in *La Science Catholique* for February, at once entered the lists in defence of the traditional or rigorist school. A month later the Jesuit Père Brucker, a tough adversary, appears in similar defence in the *Études* (March), in an article also headed "La Question Biblique."* In Père Brucker's opinion the Catholic Church has always believed and taught that the inspired Scripture does not contain any error of any sort, and that because it is "the word of God," down even to its smallest parts. He meets the assertion of the "école large," that inspiration extends to the whole Bible, but does not confer infallibility in everything, with this dilemma. The statements which you suppose may be inexact, are *they* inspired or not ? You cannot say they are not, else how can you say that inspiration extends to the whole ? If you answer yes, then you have false statements which, according to yourself, have nevertheless God for their author, which have been written under His positive impulse—for this is the Catholic notion of inspiration, which you admit. But how reconcile such a supposition as this with the divine veracity ? And Père Brucker likes Mgr. d'Hulst's *via media* not at all. In his *brochure* (pp. 20–21), Mgr. d'Hulst, in dividing exegetical opinion into the three schools aforesaid, spoke of them as forming "dans l'armée des défenseurs de la Bible, une aile droite, une aile gauche et un centre." "Quant aux exégètes du centre,"

* This was followed in April by a second, chiefly amplifying some of the statements of the March article.

severely remarks Père Brucker, "parmi lesquels Mgr. d'Hulst lui-même se place, il ne définit pas très nettement leur opinion ; peut-être ont-ils le privilège comme les centres des parlements politiques, de porter leur suffrage tantôt à droite, tantôt à gauche—plus souvent à gauche." And this is the gist of the Jesuit Father's reply, that the traditional doctrine and the rationalist denial leave no logical medium.

The *Science Catholique* for March has admitted a contributor, Padre Savi, a Roman Barnabite, who defends the "école large," basing his defence on Cardinal Franzelin's distinction of the two elements in the sacred books ; the formal and the material element.

Thus stands the discussion at present, except that, as we ought to mention, Mgr. d'Hulst writes a brief note to the *Études* (May) in which he seems to say that in his original article, addressed to the general public, be it remembered, he was indicating solutions held without ecclesiastical censure, by catholic authors rather than maintaining any view of his own, and this for the sake of good Catholics, many of whom are disturbed by the loud assertions of rationalism. He admits that Père Brucker's objections are very weighty, but then they are purely theological, and there remain scientific considerations to be considered. For the rest, he says : "Moi, je ne suis ni avec vous ni contre vous ; j'attends que le progrès de la science ait affermi ou discrédité certaines hypothèses. Si l'Église parle auparavant, mon attente cessera, la cause sera jugée." We conclude by mentioning what we read in the *Études* with great pleasure, the announcement of the near publication in a volume, of a selection from Père Brucker's biblical contributions to the *Études*. His wide knowledge and decisive, nervous style, no less than his recognised ability as a Catholic apologist, will make the volume very acceptable to English readers.

Of the other articles in the five numbers before us of the *Études*, we can only name one or two of the more interesting. A series of articles (Jan., March, April) by Père Abt, exposes the doctrine, plans, &c., of the French Masons as influencing the government of France during the past fifteen years. Theological students will read Père Gonthier's second article (March) on the "Causality of the Sacraments." The April issue contains a sympathetic sketch of the late Cardinal Pitra, apropos of the biography of him just published by the Prior of Solesmes ("Histoire du Cardinal Pitra," par Dom F. Cabrol. Paris: Retaux. Six francs). The May issue has an article by Père Delaporte defending pagan classics in Christian schools against recent impugnors, and another by Père Portalié, which defends the Jesuit Père Frius against an attack in the *Revue Thomiste*

(March). It will be remembered that the Dominican Father, Dummermuth, wrote a defence of "prædeterminatio physica," which Père Frius replied to. Of the subjects of both these two last-named articles may we not adopt the introductory remark of Père Delaporte as to the pagan classics—"tout a été dit, mais on continue de parler"?

Out of the numerous articles in the numbers of the *Université Catholique*, one deserves mention—a charming (somewhat poetical) sketch, "Un véritable Organiste Catholique" (February). Lebel, the subject of the sketch, who was blind, was organist at St. Étienne du Morit for thirty-five years, and not only "consecrated his inspirations to the Lord," but in a very remarkable manner studied the spirit of the liturgy with which it was his highest ambition to be always in harmony.

Revue des Questions Historiques.—January and April 1893. French history largely predominates in the January number, but "The History of the French Revolution in Monuments," by M. Victor Pierre, may be recommended as of wide interest—these relics of persons and events are growing rarer with time. "L'Église et les Ordalies au XII siècle" by the Abbé Vacandard appeals to Church historians. In April M. Virey discusses the value of the Hieroglyphic inscriptions for Bible history. "Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire de Marie Stuart," by R. Lambelin, is concerned with some contemporary letters referring to her, discovered by Mr. Maxwell Lyte at Belvoir Castle.

Revue du Monde Catholique, Jan., Mars, Avril 1893 (Paris), and **La Revue Générale**, for the same months (Bruxelles), have reached us. Variety is their pleasing aim—history, science, fiction, biography, and even philosophy—a little of anything interesting or useful to their Catholic readers. There is nothing remarkable in any of the six numbers, yet not a little that would be worth naming if space permitted.

Notices of Books.

Nomenclator Litterarius recentioris Theologiæ Catholicæ.

Tomus II. A.C. anno 1664-1763. Edidit HUGO HURTER, S.J.

Editio altera aucta et emendata, Oeniponte. Wagner. 1893.
8vo, 3111-1846 col.

THE first volume of this second corrected and enlarged edition was duly noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1892. Without delay it has been followed up by the second volume, comprising the manifold works which were the product of Catholic erudition in the period extending from 1664 to 1763, when the French Church was shedding lustre by her celebrated divines on almost every department of theology. The present volume exhibits not less than 652 theologians. The life, character, and writings of each of these are fully entered into by F. Hurter. He has, nevertheless, spared no pains to avail himself of the best and most recent literature bearing on his subject. The article on Bossuet affords an accurate idea of the extensive researches and sound theological judgment of F. Hurter. As to Great Britain and Ireland it is refreshing to become acquainted with a host of theologians all intent in defending or expounding the deposit of Christian faith. The "tabulæ chronologicæ theologorum," the index of names and subject-matters, are excellently done. On the whole this book is an indispensable requisite to students in theology and history.

B.

Vetus Hymnarium Ecclesiasticum Hungariæ. Cura et impensis JOSEPHI DANKÓ, Præpositi s. Martin de Posoniv. Budapestini. 1893. 8vo, pp. xv-599.

IT was in the National Synod convened A.D. 1630 by Cardinal Pazmany, Archbishop of Gran and Primate of Hungary, that the Hungarian rite was abolished and the Roman rite introduced throughout Hungary. Consequent on this change followed the fact that the hymns formerly in use, in the course of time were all but totally obliterated. Hence we may congratulate Mgr. Dankó, Provost of Pressburg, for having performed a really meritorious work by collecting and issuing those beautiful and ecclesiastical hymns in which his forefathers gave expression to their faith and piety. The way in

which he has acquitted himself of his task gives ample proof of his learning and critical acumen. An introduction, covering not less than 145 pages, comments on the origin and value of the Church's hymns, describing in a masterly way the various liturgical manuscripts from which the texts in this collection are gathered and, finally, closes with an inquiry into the development of sacred music. To afford the reader an idea of the amount of labour undergone by Mgr. Dankó, it will suffice to point out that he has consulted and accurately sifted not less than fifty-five unprinted liturgical manuscripts covering the time from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. Amongst these there is one document which claims our interest from its connection with Scotland or Ireland. It is a precious manuscript of a Breviary of the fourteenth century in the library of "S. Maria Scotorum," Vienna. As to the liturgical texts themselves, they are divided into three parts. The first contains the hymns, anthems and sequences in honour of the saintly patrons of Hungary; then follow the "cantiones sacrae de tempore, festis et sanctis." Every hymn is accompanied by copious notes shedding light on questions of critical, liturgical, or dogmatic importance. In not a few cases Mgr. Dankó has been enabled to supply better and purer texts than those we meet with in John Julian's otherwise valuable "Dictionary of Hymnology" (London: Murray. 1892). Besides, in other cases he supplements the latter work by his unwearied and successful researches. The Hymnarium is concluded by two hitherto unpublished documents, a Kalendarium of the Cathedral of Gran of the fourteenth century, and an Ordinarius (modern Directory) of the same cathedral written in the fifteenth century. As Mgr. Dankó had the Hymnarium specially brought out at his own expense, it cannot be obtained by booksellers, but he has allowed that public libraries may buy it from Mr. Harrassowitz, bookseller in Leipzig.

BELLESHEIM.

Johannes Janssen. Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Fünfter Band. Dreizehnte und vierzehnte verbesserte Auflage, besorgt durch LUDWIG PASTOR. Freiburg: Herder. 1893. 8vo, pp. xlvii—754.

THE late lamented Professor Janssen's famous history of the German people from the end of the Middle Ages, continues to enjoy an ever-increasing popularity amongst both Catholics and the more candid class of Protestant readers. This is unmistakably evidenced by the thirteenth and fourteenth editions of the fifth

volume. Professor Janssen's gifted disciple, who inherited his manuscripts, and has portrayed the celebrated historian in an elaborate biography, has just performed the important task of publishing a new edition of volume the fifth describing the revolution in politics and ecclesiastical affairs from 1580 to 1618. The reissue appears to be all that could be anticipated from the zeal of Professor Pastor, who has left nothing undone to bring the work up to the requirements of modern historiography. There is hardly a single page that does not testify to the editor's painstaking care in supplementing or correcting the original text. Volume the seventh, which was left unfinished by Janssen, will ere long be brought out by Professor Pastor.

B.

Entstehung und erste Entwicklung der Katechismen des seligen Petrus Canisius, S.J. Geschichtlicht Dargelegt von OTTO BRAUNSBERGER, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1893.

IT was in September 1864 when Pius IX. celebrated the Beatification of Venerable Peter Canisius, who was born in Nymwegen A.D. 1521, and expired in Fribourg (Switzerland), A.D. 1597. From that time the Fathers of the German Province of the Society of Jesus have devoted their efforts towards illustrating the life of Peter Canisius, who through his missionary labours and theological attainments has preserved thousands of souls to the unity of the Catholic Church during the stormy period of the Reformation. Next to his remarkable abilities as a preacher, and his theological writings, he owed his great successes to the publication of his Catechism. To the study of the origin and the vicissitudes of this excellent book is devoted the present essay of F. Braunsberger.

In order to do his work thoroughly the author has visited the principal libraries in Europe, from England to Hungary, and from Upsala to Naples, in search of the best editions for his task. After expatiating on the worldwide fame Canisius acquired as a catechist, he treats on the three forms of the Catechism, and is careful to establish with accuracy the year in which the first edition made its appearance in Vienna. It was not in 1554, as the common opinion takes for granted, but rather in 1555. The fact is noted that the title of the first edition was "*Summa doctrinæ christianæ*," and that the work was written in Latin. F. Braunsberger sets forth the reasons which led Canisius to adopt this language, and goes on to justify the title which seems to be in full accordance with the mediæval "*Summe*." The speciality of the Catechism is the strong

relief in which are brought out the Bible and the works of the Fathers. Not indeed as if F. Canisius had been unacquainted with the doctrine of the Schoolmen—on the contrary, he was deeply versed in their writings, as we see amply by his Treatise on Sin—but it ought to be borne in mind that the reformers' appeal to the primitive Church could only be successfully dealt with by carrying the issues to the bar of that period of ecclesiastical history. In the recent controversies on the Pope's infallibility, Blessed Canisius's doctrine has been wantonly attacked. Hence F. Braunsberger proves beyond the slightest doubt that Canisius did not in the least deviate from the general doctrine of the Church, but strongly supported the infallibility of the Holy See. A most valuable chapter describes the connection between Canisius and the famous printing-houses of Plantin at Antwerp, and Cholin at Cologne. It was Plantin who brought out the Catechism illustrated with pictures. This chapter is a useful contribution towards the history of the development of printing. In these days of Authors' Unions, it is interesting to note that Canisius, notwithstanding the enormous labour sustained in bringing out his books, received no monetary return, but showed himself quite content with obtaining from the publisher some works of the great Fathers of the Church. The chapter describing the success of the Catechism is most consoling, and affords an idea of what a single man, animated by the Holy Spirit, may effect for the honour of God, and the cause of the Church. We are led to anticipate the publication of a further essay, which is to treat of the translations of the catechism in the several languages. The excellent registers and indexes of the work deserve a word of a special praise.

BELLESHEIM.

L'Université de Pont-à-Mousson (1572-1768). Par l'abbé
EUGÈNE MARTIN. Paris et Nancy: Berger-Levrault et Cie.
1891. 8vo, pp. xix-455.

WE are glad to render the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW acquainted with an exhaustive and singularly painstaking history of the University of Pont-à-Mousson, in the old Duchy of Lorraine. This noble institution, intimately connected with France, Germany, and for a considerable time with Great Britain, has at length found its historiographer, who has performed his work with great ability. He has not limited himself to the immense range of printed works, and has successfully ransacked the archives of his native country Lorraine, also the rich materials heaped up in the national archives of Paris. Whilst the first part

is devoted to the external history of the Alma Mater, describing the foundation by Gregory XIII., its rapid development and gradual decline, the second is a storehouse of historical information on the interior life of the University—viz., the course of studies, the exercises of piety, and the principles on which the discipline was conducted. The prince of the Church who originated the idea of the University was the Great Cardinal de Lorraine, as he is commonly called in the Acts of the Council of Trent, the uncle of Mary, Queen of Scots. It was after having taken part in the conclave of 1572 that he entered into negotiations with the new Pope, Gregory XIII., of whom he obtained, in 1572, the solemn Bull of erection of the University whose administration was to be confided to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. The Society, notwithstanding embarrassing difficulties, which arose in part from political complications and partly from dissensions between the several faculties of the University, presided over the destinies of the University down to the day of its suppression. Indeed, a diligent perusal of the thoughtful work of Abbé Martin leaves no doubt but that the University of Pont-à-Mousson for two entire centuries had proved a bulwark of the Catholic faith against heresy and French infidelity. No English or Scotch scholar will go through his work without being deeply impressed by the splendid record of some of his countrymen. Let me instance the name of the first rector of the new institution, F. Edmond Hay, a Scotchman, and his nephew, John Hay. To the former, who came from the University of Dilligen, Pont-à-Mousson was indebted for its first statutes. Another Scotchman who taught theology in Pont-à-Mousson, was F. John Gordon, whilst John Barclay became celebrated as a distinguished professor of civil and canon law. It was in 1581 that Mary, Queen of Scots, supported by Gregory XIII., founded in Pont-à-Mousson a seminary for the education of missionary priests for Ireland and Scotland which, however, in 1591 was transferred to Douay. A brilliant page of Abbé Martin's work is found in the chapters descriptive of those numberless seminaries which gathered round the University as their nucleus, and were the radiating centres of sound doctrine and Catholic discipline throughout Lorraine. We esteem this book to be a solid contribution to the history of Catholic education. We especially commend the manner in which the work has been enriched by excellent indexes, registers, and maps.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Literary, Scientific, and Political Views of Orestes A. Brownson. Selected from his works by HENRY F. BROWNSON. 8vo, pp. 418 New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1893.

CHARLES LAMB relates, in his delightful essay on "Imperfect Sympathies," that he once ventured, in the presence of a Scotchman, to characterise a certain book as a "healthy book." "Did I catch rightly what you said?" asked the matter-of-fact Caledonian; "I have heard of a man in health, and of a healthy state of body, but I do not see how that epithet can properly be applied to a book." In spite of the worthy Scotchman's objection to the expression, we do most emphatically declare that "Brownson's Views" is an eminently healthy book. It is pulsating from beginning to end with vigorous and manly life. To open it at haphazard and read the first pages that meet the eye is like enjoying a breeze from the hill-tops. The subject-matter is throughout full of interest. Literature, education, the sciences, civil and religious liberty, &c., are discussed, and always from the standpoint of a vigilant and thorough Catholic. The treatment of the various subjects is frequently original, always masterly. The style occasionally bears witness to the influence of Emerson, but the thoughts are those of a strong self-reliant man who sees with his own eyes and judges for himself. It is difficult to make selection where everything is good; but let the following extract from the essay on Sentimentalism serve as a specimen of Brownson's cast of thought:

Catholic literature is robust and healthy, of a ruddy complexion, and full of life. It knows no sadness but sadness for sin, and it rejoices evermore. It eschews melancholy as the devil's best friend on earth, abhors the morbid sentimentality which feeds upon itself and grows on what it feeds on. It may be grave, but it never mopes; tender and affectionate, but never weak or sickly. It washes its face, anoints its head, puts on its festive robes, goes forth into the fresh air, the bright sunshine, and, when occasion requires, rings out the merry laugh that does one's heart good to hear. England is sad enough to-day, and her people seem to sit in the region and shadow of death; but in good old Catholic times she was known the world over as "Merry England." It is on principle the Catholic approves such gladsome and smiling literature. It is only in the free and joyous spirit that religion can do her perfect work; for it is only such a spirit that has the self-possession, the strength, the energy requisite for the every-day duties of life.

Mr. Henry F. Brownson, in presenting us with this excellent compilation, has not only acquitted himself of a duty to the memory of his illustrious father, but, by making the best thoughts of one of our best writers accessible to the many, he has also rendered an eminent service to Catholic literature. We strongly recommend "Brownson's Views" to our readers, and emphatically declare it to be one of the healthiest books that have come our way this long while.

The Church and the Roman Empire before A.D. 170. By Professor W. M. RAMSAY, M.A. 8vo, pp. xiv.-494. Price 12s. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

THIS learned work contains a great variety of material of interest to the student of the time with which it deals. Its nucleus is made up of six lectures delivered at Mansfield College during May and June 1892. These treat of the relation of the State to the Christian Church; and the author arrives at conclusions which are to some extent novel. He shows that in Asia Minor at least Christianity was at first received with favour, and that it only came to be disliked when it interfered with trade, or caused annoyance to families by the conversion of individuals. Various charges were brought against Christians for these personal reasons; and it was soon found by those who were aggrieved that the Roman officials would listen to charges of breach of the peace, riot, or sacrilege, but that they derided purely religious accusations. Nero's example made the provincial governors more likely to press hardly on the Christians, but they were still punished as ordinary criminals and not for their religion, except under the Jewish autonomy, where they could be dealt with for their religion alone, until that jurisdiction was abolished in A.D. 70. The dislike of Christians gradually deepened into hatred among all classes, on account of the numberless ways in which their religion was in opposition to the ancient political and social system, but until A.D. 75 to 80 no change took place in the imperial policy. Titus expected that with the destruction of Jerusalem, Christians as well as Jews would lose their religious centre, and would cease to be an independent element in the Empire. When the Flavian Emperors found this was not the case, they felt bound to crush a system which preserved an unity independent of the State, which was contrary to the first principle of the Roman policy. Like Catholics in England in our own day, the Christians "looked on themselves as Christians first, and Roman subjects afterwards," and this was an unpardonable offence.

To this main part of the book is prefixed a very minute account of St. Paul's journey in Asia Minor, which the author shows to be so correct, even to the smallest details that can be examined, as to suggest irresistibly that the account given of them in the Acts must have been written down under the immediate influence of St. Paul himself. This conclusion is the more valuable because we learn that Professor Ramsay formerly looked upon Acts xiii.-xxi. with much suspicion, and has only gradually convinced himself of its absolute correctness by the study of contemporaneous history.

There are other points of great interest in this book. Thus it is shown that the Acts of Paul and Thekla—extravagant as they are in their present form—almost certainly contain a nucleus of historical truth dating as far back as the reign of Claudius or Nero. There is incidentally a very interesting discussion as to the date of St. Peter's martyrdom, which the author shows reason for believing must have been considerably later than Nero. The value of the additions in Beza's "Codex" to the received text of the Acts is also examined, with the remarkable result, that they are found to argue a very accurate knowledge of Asia Minor in the Apostolic period, the reviser's acquaintance with Europe being less correct, so that he must have been intimately familiar with the topography and traditions of the former country, and not have lived later than the middle of the second century.

It will be seen that the foregoing notice is a wholly inadequate account of a volume full of detail; but it will serve to show students that it is indispensable for those who wish to inform themselves as to the period with which it deals.

Carmina Mariana. An English Anthology in Verse in honour of or in relation to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Collected by ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. London: Spottiswoode & Co. 1893.

EVERY lover of religious poetry will owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Orby Shipley for the beautiful collection of verse in honour of our Lady which he has here brought together. His design has been to gather into one volume all English verse bearing on his subject, from Chaucer to Tennyson, excepting only familiar devotional poetry and unpublished verse, save a few translations. Great part of the volume consists of extracts from longer poems; the rest gives shorter poems, chiefly lyrical, old English poetry modernised with judgment, and a few choice translations from other languages. Among the shorter tributes to our Lady are many fugitive pieces—English, Irish, and American—which would otherwise have been lost in the pages of old periodicals, sometimes of great beauty, and which it is an especial merit of Mr. Orby Shipley's to have preserved. It is particularly interesting to observe how large a part of the volume is made up of poems by non-Catholic writers, and how beautifully even those express themselves who have no belief in the divinity of Mary's Son: a striking example of the *testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ*. The volume is headed with a very graceful and touching dedication to the revered memory of Cardinal Manning, "who encouraged the idea of our Blessed Lady's Anthology, and

counselled its development." If we have any quarrel with the editor, it is that he has kept himself too persistently in the background, and let us judge of his critical skill and taste only by the very delightful volume he has produced.

St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity. By the Abbé C. FOUARD. Translated by GEORGE F. X. GRIFFITH, with an Introduction by CARDINAL GIBBONS. 8vo, pp. 415. Price 9s. London: Longmans & Co. 1892.

THIS volume is a continuation of the Abbé Fouard's "Life of Our Lord," which is too well known to our readers to need any commendation on our part. The author had originally intended giving it the title of "Saint Paul," believing that the history of the beginnings of the Church was simply the life of that great Apostle. But, as the work advanced, he found that another personality stood out as pre-eminent, while St. Paul was still only a layman, and that the earliest development of the Christian Church was summed up in the history of its head. The first part of the book, then, coincides with that portion of the book of Acts which precedes St. Paul's ordination at Antioch; at which point the narrative is taken up by another volume—"Saint Paul"—already translated; and it may be confidently recommended as the best commentary on this part of Holy Scripture accessible to the English Catholic reader. The remainder of the volume treats of the dispersion of the Apostles, the means they took by oral and written teaching to provide for the definite teaching of the Gospel; St. Peter's arrival in Rome, and the condition of the Jews there and of heathen society at the time of his arrival. All these subjects are dealt with in an agreeable and easy style, which veils an unobtrusive wealth of solid learning, on which the whole is based. Of course the author's conclusions will not always be unassailable; for instance, we are inclined to think his account of heathen life in Rome too uniformly sombre, and we do not think he has altogether escaped from the chronological difficulties which the Acts raise; but these are details on which no critic would lay stress, even if he ventured to differ from one of such wide reading as the Abbé Fouard. We have said enough to show that English readers will be grateful to Mr. Griffith for placing so excellent a work within their reach, and only regret that the frequent Americanisms will interfere with the satisfaction with which English readers would study the book. The least fastidious person in this country would be teased by the use of "whipping" instead of "scourging" in serious

narrative, and not a few phrases of the same kind might be pointed out. The book is excellently printed, and fully provided with maps and plans.

Foregleams of Christianity. An Essay on the Religious History of Antiquity. By CHARLES NEWTON SCOTT. Revised and enlarged edition, pp. 223. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1893.

THIS book, on its first appearance, met with much favour from the critics. Nevertheless, we cannot honestly say that we consider it, on the whole, a satisfactory work. The apparent purpose of the author is to prove that (1) "in the creed of Christianity the vital truths of all the religions which preceded it find a place, and their proper place;" (2) "that the more spiritually advanced is a religion, the more necessary are the doctrines, complementary to each other, of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, to secure its metaphysical system from contradiction either with facts or with itself;" (3) "that the Incarnation was delayed until the religious education of the most progressive races of mankind was sufficiently advanced for them to appreciate and welcome the Atonement." The first proposition is, to a Christian, incontrovertible. But Mr. Scott, for the sake, we presume, of those who are not Christians, undertakes to establish it. His attempt is, we think, not successful, and this because he seeks vital truth where truth is not to be found. He gives us much interesting information on Fetishism, Pantheism, &c. But he fails to prove his contention that what was best in these systems has its place in Christianity. The Catholic Church, following the guidance of God, employs sensible symbols to excite religious emotions and to impress the mind with the truths of Faith. But we are unable to discover a "foregleam" of this sacred symbolism in Fetishism, which, to use the author's own words, "concludes that the substance of the Divine is not to be sought farther than in matter." Again, where is the "foregleam" of Christianity in Pantheistic Monotheism, which, as the author confesses, "has little beyond the idea of Divine unity in common with the Monotheism of Theism," especially when we consider that this Pantheistic unity "can admit the existence of any number of beings?" The author's promise is better than his fulfilment. His analogies remind us of those which Dr Johnson condemned as "far-fetched, and not worth the carriage."

The second proposition of our author seems to us to accord with the theory which may be traced back to Günther, and was advocated by Canon Aubrey Moore, one of the writers of "*Lux Mundi*"

—viz., that we can claim reason on our side against all Unitarian theories, and that the doctrine of the Divine unity can only be rationally maintained when supplemented by the doctrine of the Trinity. This theory, already severely censured by S. Thomas ("Sum. Theol.," 1^{ma} q. 32, a. 1), was condemned by the Council of Cologne in 1860.

The author's third proposition we take to be misleading. That, by the time of our Lord's coming, the religion of "the most progressive races" had grown somewhat refined and spiritualised is undisputed. But that the propagation of Christianity was thereby made an easy task, as the author's words would seem to imply, we must refuse to admit. Cardinal Hergenröther ("Kirchengeschichte," B. 1, No. 103) enumerates no less than twenty obstacles which opposed the spread of the Gospel teaching. In truth, the very fact that the Gentile worship was now more spiritual and soul-satisfying, was employed as an argument against the acceptance of Christianity. The eclectic theologians of Neo-Platonism, selecting what was best from the various Pagan sources, taking their practical theology chiefly from the Stoics, and their speculative theology chiefly from Plato, and filling up the *lacunæ* with truths appropriated from Christianity, built up systems of moral and dogmatic theology which, they asserted, were in no way inferior to the Christian. And, like the Ritualists of to-day, who owe their systems to similar methods, they urged, often only too successfully, "Why leave us, when you can find all you desire here"?

There are various individual passages in this book of which we greatly disapprove—*e.g.*, the description of Julian the Apostate, as "the austere and quite saintly Julian"; but without calling special attention to these passages, let us say once more that though "Foregleams of Christianity" contains much that is both useful and interesting, we cannot consider it as, on the whole, a satisfactory work.

The Marriage Process in the United States. By Rev. S. B. SMITH, D.D., Author of "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law," "The New Procedure," "Compendium Juris Canonici," &c. &c., pp. 435. London: Burns and Oates. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

AS is well known, the Canon Law required that certain distinctly determined judicial formalities should characterise all ecclesiastical processes which bear upon the validity of marriages. However, till the year 1884, these formalities were not observed in the

United States. Disputes concerning the validity of marriages, even those which affected the validity of marriages already contracted, were decided by the bishops, or by the rectors of parishes, and sometimes even by assistant priests, without any judicial formalities whatever. This mode of procedure was not only inconsistent with the common practice of the Church, but was also open to great abuses. To remedy this defect the S. C. de Prop. Fide drew up, in 1884, the Instruction *Causæ Matrimoniales*, which determined the procedure to be followed in the United States in matrimonial contentions affecting the validity of marriages already contracted.

The book under review is in great part based on this "Instruction." It seems to us that the title, "The Marriage Process in the United States," does not sufficiently cover the range or sufficiently express the usefulness of Dr. Smith's very able work. And this for two reasons. First, because the forms of procedure explained by the author are not, as we might infer from the title of the book, peculiar to the United States, but are substantially those that are prescribed by the general law of the Church. The aim of the "Instruction" was not to provide special legislation for the United States, but to effect that ecclesiastical marriage-trials should be conducted in that country in accordance with the ordinary practice of the Church. Secondly, because, although it be true that Dr. Smith, in the work before us, devotes himself chiefly to the exposition of the formalities which should accompany the various stages of matrimonial processes, nevertheless in no less than 155 pages he discusses the questions of still more general interest which bear upon the nature of marriage, competence in matrimonial causes, and the various kinds of diriment impediments. Our author writes throughout with great clearness and ability, and proves himself a thorough master of his subject. Where he finds authors divided in opinion, he sums up their several positions with great fairness and impartiality. His own opinion, in such cases, he rather insinuates than insists upon. As a specimen of Dr. Smith's judicial manner, we should like to quote, if space permitted, his discussion of the very interesting questions: "Can a married couple, who are Catholics, ever apply to the secular courts for an absolute divorce—that is, for a total annulment of their marriage? Can a Catholic judge grant it? Can a Catholic lawyer undertake the obtaining of it?" But for the solution of these and of many other interesting questions we must refer our readers to Dr. Smith's work, which we sincerely commend as highly useful not only to the student of Canon Law, but also to the general theological student.

History of English. By A. C. CHAMPNEY, M.A. London : Percival and Co. 1893. 8vo, pp. 414.

IN the opening words of the preface to this work Mr. Champney expresses the fear that it is somewhat daring of an amateur like himself to write a book on the history of the English language. But after a careful examination of the result of his labours we must needs confess that we are gratified that he has so dared. His practical experience in the teaching of English has evidently led him to conclusions, as to the difficulty of the work, similar to those which it has forced upon others engaged in the same pursuit. His experience has proved a valuable guide. He modestly disclaims any personal authority upon the subject other than that which has been gained from a diligent study of the best text-books. He has, however, produced a work which is at once brightly written, clear and consecutive in arrangement, and sufficiently comprehensive in its grasp to prove a real boon to those engaged either in private study or in directing the studies of others in the history of the English language. The ordinary text-books, for reasons sufficiently manifest, and from the necessities of the case, are either too bald and meagre, or too heavily weighted with close technical details to enable the student to glean from them, without long study and much careful thought, anything like a vivid, intelligent, and comprehensive view of the whole subject. They mention the sources of the language, its periods of growth, and the changes that occurred therein, but they furnish in illustration few examples or none taken from the literature of those periods. The consequence is that the student of language is as much at sea as would be the student of anatomy, who had to gather his first knowledge of the human frame from a mere description, unassisted by drawings or specimens of bones.

In Mr. Champney's work, after a lucid little chapter on the life of a language, we have a consecutive history of English, traced back to the Indo-European, and then explained and illustrated by copious examples through Anglo-Saxon, and through the many additions and changes which have gradually evolved the language as it is to-day. Attention is called to the interesting subject of the various dialects and their distinctive features, to the rise therefrom of standard literary English, and to the peculiarities which distinguished the speech and writings of Englishmen in the sixteenth century.

The work is well printed, but unfortunately, we think, the pages are uncut and uneven. This is certainly a hindrance when quick reference is desired. We can cordially recommend Mr. Champney's

book to all who desire to infuse something like life and connection into the necessarily curt and jerky information one meets with in text-books on historical grammar, or to assimilate and illustrate the facts contained in them.

J. B. MILBURN.

The Victorian Age of English Literature. By Mrs. OLIPHANT and F. R. OLIPHANT, B.A. Two vols., 8vo, pp. 334 and 351. London: Perceval & Co. 1892.

THE authors of this work have done for the history of Victorian literature what Mr. Justice McCarthy has accomplished for the politics of the same period by his "History of Our Own Times." There is a parallelism in the two efforts. It is doubtless as rash to attempt to determine the final place in literature of contemporary writers, as it is to venture on the delineation of the true perspective and relative importance of political characters and events still in progress, or fresh in the memory of living men. As the authors admit in their preface, contemporary judgment is often sadly erroneous. Accordingly, they do not profess to be able to give a final decision. They write for the day, for the information and direction of those who desire a brief and readable survey of a vast subject. At the same time, we take it, there is nothing to prevent what they say voicing the feelings of to-day, and thus furnishing valuable contemporary evidence in the court of posterity, where the ultimate verdict will be given. Surely the filling of the niches in the Temple of Fame should not be left altogether to the aftertime, without a voice from the present being raised in recommendation or suggestion.

The work before us deals not unsuccessfully with a wide and difficult subject. Volume i. contains six chapters. After a sketch of the state of literature at the Queen's accession, men already famous, the essayists, the early novelists, and the greater Victorian poets, are considered. In volume ii. attention is turned to the theological, scientific, philosophical writers and art critics. Then the younger poets and novelists are brought into court, and the work is closed by a notice of the present condition of literature and a review of the leading periodicals and newspapers.

Mrs. Oliphant's is a well-known name in the literature which she has undertaken to describe, though her modesty allows her to do no more than mention herself among the younger novelists. She is a prolific writer, and has earned repute as a novelist, a biographer, and a translator, notably of Montalembert's "Monks of the West." In the work now under consideration, she has been assisted by F. R.

Oliphant. She has set herself a heavy task. The field is vast, the range well-nigh unlimited, and the difficulties many. In spite of all obstacles, however, the book is eminently clear and thoroughly readable. The style is graphic and picturesque, though occasionally weighted by sentences long and involved. Though we can scarcely agree with the summary manner in which such a clear, judicial, and even vivid writer as Lingard is dismissed; though we cannot refrain a smile when, in considering Cardinal Newman's attitude at his conversion, Mrs. Oliphant makes a curious distinction between "the fundamental truths of religion" on the one hand, and "Apostolic succession, unbroken tradition, the divine commission of the ecclesiastical body, whose special teachings, whatever they might be, were comparatively indifferent to him in comparison," on the other; we feel bound to add that many of Mrs. Oliphant's judgments will recommend themselves to her readers.

As instances of happy expression of what will probably be acceptable opinions we might refer to the following. Of Macaulay's history she writes:

Whatever may be its value as a correct record of fact, Macaulay's history is certainly a very remarkable production of literary art. It is perhaps one of the greatest efforts in narrative that has ever been made. From beginning to end we have a vast history—in the original sense of the word which we usually denote by lopping the first syllable—flowing on in a perfectly unbroken stream, the thousand little rivulets that converge into the main flood neither neglected nor magnified into undue importance, but firmly and skilfully guided into their proper places as the component parts of a great whole. (Vol. i. pp. 179 and 180.)

Tennyson's work is described as

The most English of poetry, with the inspiration in it of the plains and low-lying levels, the rich and quiet fields, the midland country with Locksley Hall lying in the wide landscape of its meadows, and the problems of actual life and thought, replacing all tumults and commotions of a revolutionary age. (Vol. i. p. 213.)

"In Memoriam," says Mrs. Oliphant, is not an elegy like "*Lycidas*," nor a song of consolation; "it is sorrow itself which takes the word, embodying as no poet had ever done before, the long discursive wanderings of melancholy thought, the mingled train of recollections" (p. 216). Several portraits of the great writers are powerfully drawn. Space will scarcely allow of further quotation, but we might refer the reader to that given of Carlyle and his wife in vol. i. p. 121; or of George Lewes reading the first part of the sad fortunes of the Reverend Amos Barton, in vol. ii. p. 168. After speaking of Ruskin's "wealth of beautiful writing," many passages from which "are quoted as we should frame and hang up a picture," Ruskin is

described as being "of the Boanerges order, an apostle of love, and full of the most amiable qualities, yet always ready to call down fire from heaven to consume those who follow another standard, or go by different rules from his." (Vol. ii. p. 215.)

J. B. MILBURN.

Dictionnaire de la Bible. (Fascicule IV. Archéologie—Athènes). Paris: Letouzey et Ané.

ALITERATURE, vast in extent and revolutionary in character, has grown up within the present century, around the sacred books. New sources of knowledge have been opened up in Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, bearing directly upon the historical books of the Old Testament. Year by year, too, we hear of the discovery of important writings of the early Church, supposed to have been long since lost to mankind, and throwing light upon the writings of the New Testament. Meanwhile, the sacred text is being subjected to the closest scrutiny and the most minute examination by hostile critics, who pretend to explain its origin on principles altogether different from those of Christian writers; and who, whilst allowing that parts of it are deserving of the highest praise as being compositions of great merit, contend, on the other hand, that the Bible contains much of little or no value, and many passages indicating a very low and embryonic morality.

Under these circumstances Père Vigouroux has undertaken to edit a Bible Dictionary in which the Catholic student will find all the latest teaching of Catholic scholarship regarding Sacred Scripture. The work is thoroughly up to date. The names of the contributors are a sufficient guarantee of the value of the articles, which will treat of all subjects connected with the study of the Old and New Testaments. The latest attacks of destructive criticism upon the sacred books are examined and refuted, and information is afforded upon the latest discoveries in Egyptology, Assyriology, and kindred subjects. The present number contains, amongst other articles, interesting discussions on Biblical Archæology, Assyria, and Assuérus.

To priests the work will be invaluable, containing, as it does, within a reasonable compass, the fruits of the labours of recent Biblical scholars. But it ought also to find a place in every Catholic library. In fact, every educated Catholic ought to endeavour to number this work amongst his books.

J. A. H.

The Microscope: its Construction and Management, &c. By Dr. HENRI VAN HEURCK. 4to, pp. 382. London: Crosswood, Lockley & Sons. New York: D. Van Nostrend & Co. Translated by WYNNE E. BAXTER, F.R.M.S., F.G.S. London: 1893.

THE English edition of this important work of Dr. Van Heurck, the distinguished botanist, and director of the Antwerp Botanical Gardens, is made from the fourth French edition, and must prove a most valuable addition to our literature upon the microscope. The text is accompanied by three plates and upwards of two hundred and fifty illustrations. After some general notions on optics, the learned author treats of Professor Abbe's theory of microscopical vision. Then he examines the various parts of the microscope, explains its use, and in a special chapter he deals with the important question of photo-micrography. Then comes a most useful chapter on the art of preparing microscopical objects. The general reader will be more especially interested by the part of this work which treats of the history of the microscope. When we reflect upon the immense importance to science and to philosophy of the invention of that marvellous instrument, we cannot but be struck with admiration and gratitude for the great men who have endowed modern science with such a means of investigation. The discovery of printing is commonly held to have been a most important turning-point in the progress of German learning. Yet, it may be questioned whether the microscope has not done still more for it. The whole gigantic advance made during the last hundred years in natural science is almost entirely due to the fact that we have been able to investigate living organisms as well as inorganic bodies by the help of the microscope, and our progress in those investigations has been entirely conditioned by the gradual improvements introduced by microscope constructors.

Ingenuity, among the ancients, had to take the place of direct observation for all in Nature that is not visible to the naked eye, and we now know that the most instructive and the most important facts in Nature are in the majority of cases outside the range of our unaided vision. From a passage in Seneca, we learn that the ancients were acquainted with the fact that a glass globe filled with water will magnify objects seen through it, but they were certainly unacquainted with glass lenses. It was only in 1285 that a Florentine, Salvino d'Aranato, invented the art of manufacturing glass spectacles. In the Palazzo Pitti, at Florence, there is an engraving made from a picture by Raphael, which represents Pope Leo X. in the act of examining a miniature with the assistance of a magnifying glass. But such a glass did not constitute a microscope.

This further discovery is due to Zacharias Janssen, a small optician of Middleburg. He really invented the compound microscope, probably about the year 1590.

After giving us a most interesting account of the successive improvements which in course of time followed the momentous discovery, Dr. Van Heurck adds some valuable considerations on the future of the microscope, based upon a technical analysis of great delicacy, which shows his intimate acquaintance with that difficult subject.

We conclude this brief notice by heartily commending Dr. Van Heurck's book, in its present dress, to English readers. The translation, a labour of some difficulty where a scientific work of this nature is concerned, appears to have been most successfully done, and reflects great credit upon Mr. W. E. Baxter, the translator.

Sound and Music. By the Rev. J. A. ZAHN, C.S.C., Professor of Physics in the University of Notre Dame. 8vo, pp. 452. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1892.

THIS valuable work represents the substance of a course of lectures given by the author in the Catholic University of America at Washington. Those lectures were intended to give musicians, and general readers also, an accurate knowledge of the principles of acoustics, together with a sufficient exposition of the physical basis of musical harmony. The book before us is therefore a really scientific work, but it is one in which the most delicate questions of physics are handled with such ability, and in so clear and agreeable a style, that it is entirely free from all dryness or obscurity, and will undoubtedly prove most fascinating reading even to those who have no previous acquaintance with the subject. The text is accompanied by numerous excellent illustrations, which, of course, largely help to make it easy and clear. Yet this work is anything but superficial in its treatment of the subject. It embodies all the important researches of Helmholtz, Koenig, and other masters in the science of acoustics, and formulates the latest discoveries in that science in a most scientific manner. Some chapters in which the great physiological questions raised by acoustics are stated and discussed will perhaps be read with even greater interest. Yet the learned author deals with those difficult and delicate matters in a spirit at once free from timidity and from unscientific assertions, such as becomes an educated Catholic who has in his faith a safe guide in all such obscure questions, and knows the limits which, in the nature of things, circumscribe the sphere of our intellectual

activity. As Fr. Zahn well says, for instance, when discussing the manner in which the human ear comes to realise sound as such,

When we can comprehend the nature of the link that binds mind and matter, then, and not till then, may we hope to have some insight into the nature of the phenomena here presented to us, to understand how motion can originate sensation, and how vibrations of different periods can be changed, translated, as it were, into what appears to our senses as heat, light, and sound.

Space will not allow us to make more quotations. Yet there is much in the book—for instance, respecting the relation between science and art—to which our readers' attention should be directed. It is this power of intermingling abstract scientific statements with higher philosophical and æsthetic considerations which renders Fr. Zahn's book so eminently readable, and will, we feel sure, much enlarge its sphere of usefulness. We rejoice at the same time to see in this valuable work another evidence of the intellectual activity of the Catholic University of Washington. It bears witness to the high standard the University expects of its lecturers, and it justifies a most sanguine view of the influence that such an educational institute must surely exercise upon the rising generation of Catholics in the United States.

B. K.

Mes Souvenirs sur Napoléon. Par le Comte CHAPTAL. Large 8vo, pp. 409-420. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893.

ARE we ever to arrive at a definite estimate of Napoleon's character? The good old-fashioned Corsican-ogre portrait has long been mouldering away in our cellars, having been replaced by a magnificent picture representing him as a superior kind of demigod. M. Taine has, however, given us a fresh study much on the lines of the earlier one, and painted with almost equally sombre colours. If we may accept the testimony of M. Chaptal, the latest published witness, this last portrait would seem to be the most faithful to the original. Few of Bonaparte's contemporaries were in a better position to tell us what manner of man he was. In the great work of reorganising France, accomplished with such marvellous skill during the short period of the Consulate, Chaptal was the First Consul's right hand, and although he resigned office at the beginning of the Empire he remained to the last on intimate terms with his master. Most of those who have undertaken to describe the mighty conqueror for us, have been either servile flatterers or spiteful enemies. Chaptal is far from belonging to either class, and hence his account is particularly valuable. He lays special stress on the fact that there were really two Napoleons, not contemporary

and entirely opposed to each other like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, but the one before 1804 and the other after that date, and both having much in common. As in most men's careers, the dividing line comes in at the end of the making of his fortune and at the beginning of his endeavours to keep it. In both periods, indeed, the good and the bad qualities were all on the heroic scale. The difference was that in the earlier period he recognised his dependence on others and therefore had greater consideration for them, whereas later on he looked upon all men as fools or tools. His complete absorption in self and utter want of regard for others overmastered him and became the chief cause of his fall. This distinction between the two portions of Bonaparte's career is not, however, the ground of the division of M. Chaptal's book. For this purpose he makes use of a distinction even more important, yet one which so many biographers entirely overlook. Bonaparte's opinions, carefully noted down by Chaptal, are carefully separated from Chaptal's opinion of Bonaparte. Thus we have a series of chapters containing Napoleon's views on the Revolution, on government, on war, on agriculture, on manufactures, on commerce, and on the arts. These are very valuable, most of them for their own sake, and all of them for the insight they give us into the character of the man who expressed them. On page 304 will be found a singular eulogy of Wellington.

There is a man for you [said the Emperor]; he is obliged to retreat before an army which he dares not encounter, but he takes care to make a desert of eighty leagues between the enemy and himself; he retards the advance of that army; he weakens it by privations of all kinds; he ruins it without fighting it. Only Wellington and I, in Europe at least, are capable of executing such measures. But there is this difference between him and me—that France would blame me, whereas England will praise him for what he has done.

After giving us these chapters, M. Chaptal goes on to tell us what he himself thinks of the great man. In reading this part I have been struck with the writer's cool and calm method of proceeding. There is no hacking or smashing here. The club and the hatchet are left to ruder performers. He reminds us rather of some skilful surgeon operating with professional deliberation on his subject, laying bare the various tissues and pointing out their structure and functions. And what an awful "subject" M. Chaptal has under his physiological dissecting-knife! Intelligence of the highest order, untiring physical energy, tremendous force of will, with hardly a spark of affection or a single generous impulse. Our friend the ogre gives us a very inadequate notion. There was no clumsy brute force about Bonaparte. Ahriman or Milton's Satan would be nearer the mark.

We are indebted to M. Chaptal's great-grandson, the Vicomte An. Chaptal, for the publication of this interesting volume. He has also given us some account of his ancestor's later career, and (what is rare in French books) he has added a full index.

T. B. S.

Le Maréchal Ney. 1815. Par HENRI WELSCHINGER. Large 8vo, pp. 428. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893.

M. WELSCHINGER has already distinguished himself by able monographs on the execution of the Duke d'Enghien and on Napoleon's divorce. Having thus dealt with the two great blots of the Consulate and the Empire, he now turns to the famous case which is the reproach of the Restoration. That Ney "betrayed" the Bourbons is clear. That they were wrong in putting him to death is equally plain. The only real question at issue is as to whose shoulders the blame should rest upon. The common account attributes the marshal's execution to the rage of the Royalists against the one man who might have stopped the usurper's advance, and indeed had sworn to do so. But M. Welschinger will not allow this. According to him, the Prussians and the English—notably the Duke of Wellington—were the real authors of the crime; and his book thus becomes a violent tirade against the two hated foes of *la belle France*. In reviewing one of his former volumes I had occasion to remark that while his industry in collecting evidence and the charm of his style leave nothing to be desired, his power of coming to a right judgment is by no means great. The present work confirms me in this opinion. The story of the betrayal, the two trials, and the execution of "the bravest of the brave," is admirably told; but there is little to support the author's main contention. There is, of course, abundant evidence of the brutality of the Prussians and the insolence of the English. It may be true, too, that Wellington could have saved the marshal's life. But after all they only looked on approvingly while their dauntless adversary fell under the bullets of his own countrymen. One hundred and thirty-nine peers of France voted for his death. Only seventeen were in favour of the milder punishment of exile. It is surely vain for M. Welschinger to try to persuade us that all these great nobles were simply the tools of the implacable Allies.

One incident of the closing scene of Ney's career is worth recalling here. When he was told that he might see his confessor, he said: "Don't bother me about that." At these words one of the guards, a veteran non-commissioned officer, said respectfully: "You are wrong there, marshal. I am not as brave as you are, but I am just as old

a soldier, and I have always found that I can stand the fire best when I have made my peace with God." "Perhaps you're right," answered Ney, suddenly touched; "your advice is good." Then turning to the colonel, he asked: "What priest can I call?" "The Abbé de Pierre, curé of Saint Sulpice," was the reply. "Ask him to be good enough to come," said the marshal. For a full hour confessor and penitent remained alone together, and together they were driven to the place of execution.

T. B. S.

Apologetics, or Christianity Defensively Stated. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1892. xvi-522 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

WHILST not always perfectly satisfactory to a Catholic reader on account of the quarter whence it comes, still it is ever pleasant to find any attempt on the part of those separated from us to vindicate, if not the divine, at any rate the natural rights and inherent beauties of Christianity. It is with this modified pleasure that we open the book before us. Its value will lie outside Catholic sphere and influence, but even to us it will have its value in being able to gauge what is considered readable amongst those who represent a present-day form of Christian life in our midst, but yet apart from us.

We must, however, at once confess our pain at reading the following dreadful words on our Lord at p. 410:

With belief in the virgin birth is belief in the virgin life, as not less than the other a part of the veil that must be taken away that the true Jesus may be seen as He was—a morally defective man, better than most, but not perfectly good.

We apologise to our readers for having to make such a quotation, and we stand aghast at the effect upon other minds when asked on such grounds to believe in any Christ at all. We will still fondly hope that the taught can still teach the author.

In the matter of Agnosticism, the author is as pitifully unhappy. To quote his words from p. 162: "A man can be an Agnostic if he pleases. Faith in God is an affair of personal conviction. No offence is meant by this statement." The author may have many sound reasons for not asking to offend his readers, but it is some comfort that it has entered his mind as a possibility that such a thought might be possible to them. We would rather go further and ask what honour the author could think he was paying the God he is presumably defending against others who are attacking His own on earth, by words so absolutely calculated to help those who are ready

to accept the Gospel of doubt. To a Catholic such playing with Truth is so repulsive that he almost looks in vain for a way of hope into which to lead a soul not knowing how to understand the reason of the life above Nature.

Our readers have from two very sorry quotations seen ample and sufficient evidence of the value such a book as this is likely to be to them. If God Himself and His Divine Son are so lowered in the esteem of men as the quotations would lead us to suppose permitted, we can only conclude that we as Catholics can have less to say to the author who should know more and better than to those who may peruse this book hoping thereby to be able to assuage the violence of thoughts which suggest to them that God is neither their Creator nor their Redeemer. On opening the book, and in our first remarks upon it, we hoped for the sake of those who would be most likely to be its readers that a pleasure was in store for us as well as for them; but we lay it down with a feeling which can only be understood by one within the Fold of the Catholic Church. The book is otherwise well printed, and goes over much ground.

A Christian Apology. By PAUL SCHANZ, D.D., D.Ph., Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen. Translated by Rev. MICHAEL F. GLANCEY and Rev. VICTOR SCHOBEL, D.D. Vols. I. and II., 1891; Vol. III., 1892. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. New York: Frederick Pustet.

IN a rash moment, the present writer accepted an invitation to review this translation of Dr. Schanz's work for the pages of this magazine. The fulfilment of the undertaking has been long delayed by the growing sense of the unsatisfactory character which must necessarily belong to the performance. To do anything like justice to a critical review of the book—and after all what is wanted is, we suppose, not a mere panegyric, but a genuine criticism, whose qualities may attract credit to the judgments uttered—appears to us a task not unlike that of writing a review of an encyclopædia. For the purview of sciences treated by Schanz in their bearings on Christianity is so wide, being indeed almost co-extensive with the entire scientific domain itself, that it is obvious that a critic, if he is to be competent, ought to be a proficient in each and every one of the branches of modern research, from molecular physics to Scriptural textual criticism. Now, we not only feel our own entire incompetence to pose as such a *fin-de-siècle* "Admirable Crichton," but we are really sceptical as to the existence of such a prodigy at all, and

still more as to the exact value attaching to his judgments, if he really do exist.

And this is not all. A further doubt crosses our mind : what about the author himself ? He has set out to accomplish a task which we feel inclined to call Cyclopean—to erect a vast system of fortifications of the most recent and most approved scientific character around the entire region of Christian truth, natural, revealed, historical. He is to be the Vauban of the whole Christian religion. But is it possible for one man to accomplish such an undertaking at this dawn of the twentieth century ? It is now between fifty and sixty years since Nicholas Cardinal Wiseman, whose gifted pen opened the first number of the DUBLIN REVIEW, delivered to a delighted audience in Rome his really remarkable series of "Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion." Even at this day, when science has made such gigantic strides since 1835, and when Wiseman's lectures are so thoroughly *passé*, it is impossible to read without fascination those wonderful essays in apologetics. One is amazed at the width and the depth of Wiseman's knowledge and culture. Physical and biological science, ethnology, comparative philology, archaeology, primitive history, exegetic and textual criticism of Scripture, heathen and Christian philosophy—all in turn are discussed with a wealth of learning and a sureness of grasp that fill us with astonishment, and illustrated with a facility of quotation from Oriental philology and literature that show us how genuine a scholar the author must have been. But more than half a century has passed since Wiseman's great achievement ; and we strongly doubt whether there be any scholar, however sound and however widely read, who could with impunity undertake to repeat his great task. Achilles would nowadays be vulnerable in both heels, and in many another spot besides. Hence it was with some misgivings that we entered upon the study of this very imposing work, which the zeal and literary ability of the Revv. Father Glancey and Dr. Schobel have made accessible to English readers, in three volumes of a total of 1715 pages of close letterpress. Is it possible, is it prudent, for one man, however gifted, to attempt a work such as this ? In order to give the reader some idea of the greatness of the undertaking, we purpose to describe the plan of the work. That plan is remarkable for its symmetry. It is tripartite, and to each of the three volumes is assigned one of the three divisions of the apology. The first, entitled "God and Nature," is of course concerned with physical, biological, and psychological science, and anthropology, and is a defence of natural religion. The second, styled "God and Revelation," is occupied with the compara-

tive history of religions and biblical criticism ; it is a general apology of Christianity. Whilst the third, under the name of "The Church," represents the *arc*, the innermost citadel of the fortification ; it is a detailed vindication from Scripture and history of the claims of the Catholic Church and of the See of Peter. We must now enter into somewhat fuller details of each of these three concentric lines of defence.

After preliminary chapters on the definition of Apologetics, the history of Apologetics, and the universality of "Religion" in its widest sense, the first volume proceeds to discuss the great primary questions involved in ontologism and traditionalism respectively ; the natural knowledge of a Supreme Being ; ideas, conscience, and kindred problems. Then we have the problems of the beginning of existence, and of the world, the whole system of cosmology. This leads up to the consideration of life, the organic and inorganic worlds and their differences ; spontaneous questions, the germ theory, evolution, the origin of species, Darwinism. The consideration of man and his characteristics forms the transition to a fresh examination of the old argument of "design and purpose ;" the questions connected with the human soul, virtue and reason ; then the discussion of the Monistic theory, the system of creation, the unity and age of the human race, concluding, as a corollary, with a chapter on the deluge.

Passing now to the second volume, of which the general title is "God and Revelation," we are introduced, after some preliminary remarks on the history of religions, to a detailed sketch of the chief non-Christian systems, ancient and modern. The Vedic religion of Ancient India, and its later developments, especially Buddhism ; the religion of the ancient Persians, or Mazdeism ; those of the Greeks, Romans, and Teutons ; of China and Japan ; of ancient Egypt, of Babylonia and Assyria, and finally of the pre-Islamitic Arabs, are in turn passed in review from both the historic and dogmatic standpoints. Then follows a briefer *résumé* of the various "uncivilised" religious cults, particularly Fetishism, with some remarks on totemism and kindred subjects, and a hasty reference to the Shamanistic religion of the Mongols. All this is exceedingly interesting, and forms a suitable introduction to a more elaborate and erudite treatise on the religion of Israel in the light of modern science. The theories connected with the names of Graf and Wellhausen and their school receive a very full treatment, and the various difficulties raised by them are fairly stated and discussed. After some remarks on the subsequent developments of Judaism in the Talmudic and Kabbalistic schools, and a chapter on Islam, we are led on to the

all-important topic of the origins of Christianity; the relations between reason and revelation, miracles, prophecy, and the many questions connected with the authenticity and veracity of Holy Scripture, inspiration, and scriptural interpretation. Here we are met by the newest problems of the modern "critical" school, the origin of the Gospels, the "Mark hypothesis" connected with the name of Griesbach, the relations between the "Synoptics" and the "Fourth Gospel," and kindred topics. The volume concludes with chapters on the life of Jesus, the person and nature of Christ, His doctrine and work, and finally the crowning subject, His divinity.

From the "Christian Apology" of the second we pass to the more strictly "Catholic Apology" of the third and last volume, entitled: "The Church." Briefly stated, the topics herein discussed are the Church according to Holy Scripture; the marks of the church, treated in most elaborate detail; her apostolicity, according to the triple testimony of Holy Scripture, the fathers, and the early heretics; her unity; her catholicity; the note of infallibility, first, of the Apostles and the apostolic age, then the formal proof, and lastly the material proof of the Church's infallibility throughout the ages; the necessity of the Church for salvation; the holiness of the Church; Scripture and Tradition; the primacy of Peter; the primacy of the Pope; his infallibility. Finally, a concluding chapter on "Christianity and Civilisation" worthily completes the whole.

Such is the sumptuous intellectual bill of fare provided for his readers by the theologian of Tübingen; and nobody can dispute either the completeness of the programme or the perfect symmetry of its arrangement, whilst the interest of such a noble presentment of the entire system of the truth is of the most absorbing character. But what a daring man, one is led to exclaim, must he be who undertakes single-handed to construct, in the face of all the weapons of precision of the most modern science and the most advanced criticism, so vast a system of apology and defence! And consequently how daring, too, must be the critic who would profess to sit in judgment upon such a performance! Yet, unfortunately, we have undertaken the task, and must perforce do our best to offer at least as fair and impartial an opinion as we are qualified to form, and try to distinguish the part of the honest critic from that of the mere panegyrist.

And first of all, let us say, that whilst the foregoing bare enumeration shows the very wide field traversed by Dr. Schanz, the reader cannot but admire the thoroughness with which he enters successively into each of the scientific problems discussed, involving, as they do, every one of the exact and natural sciences. He shows evidence of careful and minute study, and his quotations alone prove how

anxious he has been to keep himself well up to date in the specialistic literature of each branch. Above all, he is evidently not afraid of reading and pondering for himself the writings of adversaries, so as to know them first hand. All this gives to his treatment of many topics, otherwise trite in "the Schools," a surprising freshness, that to some readers may even appear a little startling, but to many more, we hope, will be as gratifying as it is astonishing.

Again, it is but just to acknowledge the great interest we have felt in perusing the successive chapters of the book, and the large amount of information, often of a most striking kind, we have derived from it, and to admire the acuteness and clearness of perception with which the various hypotheses of science are scrutinised by Dr. Schanz, whose acquaintance with all the schools of modern thinkers and investigators is evidently so extensive.*

If, on the other hand, we are asked whether, in our humble opinion, the learned author has succeeded in carrying through his gigantic task with such success as to be beyond the reach of criticism, we feel bound to confess that, wonderfully able as the performance is, it still seems to underlie certain weaknesses upon which it is our duty to remark. Generally speaking, we have been rather unfavourably impressed with a certain "nebulosity" of style, which seems characteristic of Dr. Schanz—as, indeed, it so often is of German thinkers. That this is not merely attributable to our insular dulness of apprehension, is, we think, rendered probable by the fact that we have found the opinion shared by more than one reader of conspicuous ability.

The effect of this nebulosity (it is not easy to find another word) is to render it often difficult to follow the line of the learned professor's argumentation, with the occasional alarming result that his adversaries' objections sometimes seem clearer and easier to apprehend than his own answers to them. We think we have noticed this several times in his treatment of modern rationalistic schools of Scriptural criticism, whether it be in discussing Wellshausen, or Kuene's views on the composition of the Old Testament, or Griesbach's hypotheses concerning the New. Let us hasten to add that this result is nowise attributable to the two able translators; they have done their part admirably, their work has a genuine English, often Shakspearean, ring, which occasionally deserves to be called racy. The fault, we fear, is in the author.

* We are, however, greatly disappointed to find a writer of so much breadth of view entirely neglecting, in his account of modern Italian apologists (vol. i. p. 63), the greatest name of all—that of the illustrious philosopher of Rovereto and his school—this omission of Rosmini, and of such an eminent savant as Stoppani, being really unpardonable.

When we descend from general style to particulars of scientific argument, we are met with the consciousness that it would ill become us, after what has been said in the beginning, were we to attempt anything like a critical examination of so wide a field of science, all the more so as such a proceeding would imply a familiarity with the exact and physical sciences to which we have no claim at all. It may, however, be permitted us to briefly notice one or two points which have struck us as lending themselves to exception or remark. For instance, it may possibly be but an inaccuracy of expression, but we cannot but feel surprised to find on p. 127, the statement that "in every steam-engine a great deal of energy *is lost*, and a residue of heat remains." It is surely impossible after the discoveries of the late J. P. Joule, to speak, at least in the strict sense, of the "loss" of heat, or, indeed, of any other natural force. Again, there seems to be considerable confusion, if not worse, in the zoological statements on p. 178. We are told that the "ant-bear is the only mammal at present known to lay eggs." This is inaccurate. Two mammals are known to lay eggs—viz., the Australian *ornithorhynchus*, or duck-billed platypus, and the *echidna* of the same continent. Neither of these is an ant-eater, nor indeed do they belong, as the passage seems to imply, to the order of edentata (in which the ant-eaters are classed), but together form an altogether distinct sub-class of mammalia, widely distinct from all other known mammals, even from the marsupialia, and known as "ornithodelphia." This sub-class it is (as the name indicates), and *not* the "scaly ant-eater," as stated by Schanz, that "supplies the missing link between mammals and birds."*

Still more surprising is the statement (p. 406) that the whole Aryan family before its dispersal probably "led a peaceful life at the foot of the Himalayas." Surely such a theory has never been broached by any savant! The ordinarily accepted belief is that some part of Central Asia, perhaps near the Pamir, was the "cradle-land" of our Aryan ancestors—although, it is true, the most fashionable hypothesis of late has been to fix that primeval home in Northern Europe or the Russian steppes; but the foot of the Himalayas could imply nothing else than either Northern India or the Tibetan Plateau.

It is, however, when we turn to that department of science of which we may profess ourselves to have made more particular study, that we find most reason to be dissatisfied with Dr. Schanz's performance; we refer to the comparative history of religion. Having said

* St. George Mivart, "Types of Animal Life," pp. 50-62, may be profitably consulted on this point.

this much, we are bound to substantiate our criticism. The chapters at least on the Indian and Eranian religions sadly need revising. On p. 33 there is an awkward confusion of the goddess Vak (Vac) with Vatu, the wind, that should never have been allowed to pass. The statement (p. 30) that "the root *dyu* is found only in Sanscrit as the name for God. All the Indo-European languages have this word, and no other, for God," is both self-contradictory and incorrect in both its parts; for the Teutonic Tyu as a divine name disproves the first sentence, and the entire absence of a name for God derived from the same root in the Persian languages disproves the second. The Hindu religion cannot be justly styled "the most advanced" (p. 25) of the Indo-European cults, in face of the more perfect form of that of the Avesta; nor can it be broadly asserted that Brahmanism resolved itself into "the belief in an absolute *personal* Being" (p. 35). We think "impersonal" would have been the more appropriate word. It is hardly serious, surely, to attribute the *Atharva Veda* to "the eleventh century" (presumably B.C., p. 26).

In the account of the Avestic religion, we are surprised to meet again with the now discredited hypothesis that the "schism" which separated the ancestors of Hindus and Eranians was of a religious nature, that it occurred in India(!), and that "the Iranians went forth from India during the Vedic period"(!), when "the old plain form of the Vedas began to be cast off" (p. 58). Not only is this theory of the "schism" abandoned by orientalists, but the implied comparison of the Vedas and the Avesta is inaccurate; very much of the Vedas is highly artificial and of late date, while much of the Avesta compares favourably with the Vedic hymns, as regards both antiquity and "simplicity." It is unsatisfactory, too, that we find no account of the Old Persian religion of the Achæmenid inscriptions, which must by no means be identified *en bloc* with that of the Avesta. Once more, it is scarcely correct to say that "according to the Parsee Zend-Avesta the world was created in six periods, and each period lasted a year" (p. 353). It is true that this statement is found in the (much later) Pehlevi work, the *Bundeheesh*, and that it probably is based upon traditions of great antiquity, and even professes to be taken from "revelation"—*i.e.*, the Avesta. Still, as the Avesta now exists, the statement is nowhere to be found in it. Nor can we accept Dr. Schanz's assertion (p. 309) regarding the principles of good and evil, that "a common beginning and end is recognised even by the Iranian religion, the mother of dualism." At least, as thus stated, the assertion is too broad. Philosophical exigency eventually drove the Eranian thinkers to excoGITATE some theory to escape from the inherent self-contradiction of the Avestic

dualism, and under the Sassanids the solution stated above was that adopted by the very important school of the Zervanists; but it will hardly do to set it down as the general teaching of the Mazdayasnian religion. We could add other such criticisms, but we forbear.

A word must really be said of the too abundant misprints scattered through the work, and which in a scientific treatise of such pretensions are a more serious blemish than they would be elsewhere.

It is provoking enough to an English reader to find the oriental proper names all rendered in the clumsy German transliteration of the original, instead of the simpler forms to which we are accustomed in this country—*e.g.*, Tshandra, Aditijas, Surja, Vaisjn, Jazeta, Chadidscha, &c., instead of Chandra, Adityas, Surya, Vaisya, Yazata, Khadija, &c.; but these after all are faults of the translators, whilst certain mis-spellings are such as seem to belong rather to the author himself—*e.g.*, Asrinas for Asvinas, Dyupater, Rayha for Ragha, Yasadhora for Yasodhara, &c.* But two errors we have met which suggest incorrectness of information rather than mere carelessness of proof-reading: for what are we to say to such a slip as "Sun-neric" for Sumeric (in both vols. i. and ii), or still more to the inexplicable use of "*pike-villages*" for "*pile-villages*" throughout chap. xviii. of the first volume?

There are far too many of these slips. Again, what are we to think of the statement that the Parsees in India number "several hundred thousands," when the last census gave only 89,904? or how shall we reconcile the estimate of "7,000,000" as the total number of Buddhists (vol. ii. p. 23) with the exaggerated statement, in the opposite extreme, that they number "several hundred millions" (vol. i. p. 295)?

We hope these criticisms may be taken in good part, as they are intended. We have no desire to appear hyper-critical, and have indeed passed over many items of comment which we had marked. But a work of this kind challenges by its very nature the most careful scrutiny, and this scrutiny in turn is often the truest kindness to an author. Let us hope that this important work may live to see a further edition, in which most, if not all, of these inaccuracies, chiefly of detail, may be remedied.

But one omission there is for which we can find neither palliation nor excuse, and honesty compels us to utter our protest against what

* A curious complex blunder is that on p. 44, vol. ii., in the not very critical account of Buddhism, where one of the best-known and most eminent Buddhist scholars is referred to as Bishop Bigaudet, Vicar-Apostolic of Ava and Peru (!). It is true that Bishop Bigaudet was formerly Vicar-Apostolic of Ava and Pegu, but for many years his Vicariate has been entitled that of Western Burma.

is nowadays the one unpardonable sin in every scientific work—the entire absence of an index! The translators plead the great growth of matter in the last volume as an excuse. Why not, then, a small supplementary volume?

We should do ill to end without a few words of congratulation to the indefatigable translators on their completion of so extensive and so difficult an undertaking, in which they frequently show great acumen and clearness of judgment, even occasionally correcting or supplementing their author; and also some expression of regret at the far too long delay which, owing to a variety of reasons, has occurred in our notice of their performance, and which, we are sure, must have been a sore trial to their patience and good-nature.

The Vatican and the Kingdom of Italy. By the Very Rev. L. MAGLIONE, Canon of the Diocese of Salford. 8vo, pp. 148. London: Burns & Oates. 1s.

THIS pamphlet embodies a series of letters written by Canon Maghione in defence of the Temporal Power, and published in the *Manchester Guardian* in reply to Cavaliere Froelich, Italian consul in Manchester. The scope of the work cannot be better described than in the words in which the author concludes his preface. "My only desire is to publish facts in proof of my statement that the subversion of the Temporal Power of the Pope is an act of spoliation, a fraud, and a sacrilege, perpetrated, not by the will of the Italian people, but by intrigues and armed conspiracy fomented by the House of Savoy, backed by ambitious politicians and interested adventurers." In his opening chapter, Canon Maglione traces the origin of the Temporal Power. In doing so, he very truly points out that the permanence by which it survived so many less enduring institutions was due to its connection with a motive that is and must be as permanent as Catholicism itself—the desire to secure the liberty and independence of the Sovereign Ruler of the Church. It is at this point that the author touches that kernel of the whole question which so many writers upon the subject wisely or unwisely leave undiscussed—the question of international rights. It is not for us to say how far the ground taken up may or may not be tenable, but at all events it is clear and tangible. It is expressed in these words:

"In what way can the Roman State endanger the peace of the world? By attacking the Government at its head, a Government elected by the whole of the Catholic world; by Italy, Spain, France, Portugal, Austria, and one which it is duly bound to defend and

preserve. Hence, it follows that if the Roman State rises against the Government for which it exists, it is brought face to face, not with one or two foreign powers, but with all the Catholic powers, who will remind the Roman State of its duty in the name of certain rights which are superior to its own, because of longer standing and of general interests, whereas its own are put forward on behalf of individuals. Moreover, the said rights being backed by superior force, cannot fail to be irresistible. In a word, the sovereignty of the Catholic nations is, in this case, superior to the Sovereignty of the Roman people."

Putting aside the argument of the backing of "superior force" which is not a particularly a strong one, and which for the present, at all events, seems to have worked the other way, it is clear that the passage cited enunciates certain very important and interesting principles, which it concerns all true defenders of the Temporal Power to learn by heart and to analyse in doing so. First of all, it assumes the cardinal principle that the rights of any part of the European community are to be exercised only in a manner which is conformable to the interests of that community as a whole. Secondly, it would maintain that this eminent domain of the whole over the part may go so far as to perpetually fix upon that part a given rulership and form of government, as often and as long as the interest of the whole may require it. Thirdly, as a matter of fact and application, it contends that this community of interest exists in the advantages of the territorial independence of the Holy See, and therefore requires that the Roman State, as a duty to Catholic Europe, shall have for its government the Papacy and no other.

Herein the author constructs us a plain and rational platform on which to take his stand—worth just a world of rhetoric and recrimination!—and provided its two supports (the principle of the subordination of national to international interests, and the fact of territorial principedom being an essential of Papal independence) hold firm, he need have no fear whatever that his position will be less than impregnable. It would be idle to contend that the conclusion, however devoutly to be cherished, can ever be stronger than the principle and the fact that make up its premisses, and one can hardly resist the impression that time and effort would be much more wisely concentrated upon enforcing their cogency than upon any general indictments of fraud and spoliation against the House of Savoy. No doubt the latter is an important element in the case, and Canon Maglione, replying to an opponent who would cast the glamour of enthusiasm over a very wide area of accomplished facts, could not easily abstain from the rôle of a fearless realist in sketching the

political evolution in Italy. It is a work which a defender of the Temporal Power, in such a juncture, can hardly leave undone, and if it is to be done at all, perhaps it is just as well that it should be done *con amore* and with that earnestness which is displayed on every page of this pamphlet. Not the less, we submit that the strongest part of our brief is not there, but rather in those primary principles by which, after all, national destinies are directed and institutions stand or fall in the logic of history. Fraud, falsehood, robbery, usurpation, sacrilege, conspiracy, and crime, are seven devils that are always at work in any great movement or convulsion of human nature—even before 1789!—and there cannot be the least doubt that they were all very much to the front in the “making of Italy.” But the mere fact of their presence—if we wish to convince others than ourselves—can never be our palmary argument. There are conscientious Unionists, we suppose, who are not one whit the less honestly convinced of the excellence and necessity of the Union, because they are made aware of the “blackguardism” by which, under Pitt and Castlereagh, the work was consummated. They feel that in the long run principles, not facts, are the arbiters of national issues, and console themselves in remembering the French adage that omelettes cannot be made without the breaking of eggs. We fear that philosophy of that kind has a strong hold upon the minds of those whom this pamphlet is designed to enlighten in our utilitarian age. In point of fact, Europe goes on merrily making her omelettes and priding herself on their flavour, and enjoys them not one degree the less because cooks like Cavour or Mazzini and Garibaldi have roughly and ruthlessly crushed the egg-shells in making them. It will be quite another matter, if we can show that the Italian omelette is indigestible or unwholesome, or poisonous, and likely to make Europe very sick indeed if she persists in having it. She is a selfish practical creature, who listens with a merely academic interest when people speak to her of the past, but wakes up and shows herself keenly alive to whatever affects her comfort and happiness in the future. If our mission is to move minds we had far better make our appeal where it is likely to be heard with attention. If we venture thus to emphasise the importance of a future-facing line of defence of the Temporal Power, it is with no wish whatever to discount the value or force of the realistic evidence that Canon Maglione has skilfully arrayed in his pages. As a work of zeal his pamphlet cannot be too highly commended. We hope that he may be induced to follow up the present, by a further contribution to the problem, one in which released from the need of pursuing a somewhat mobile controversial opponent he will be free to deal

more at length with the *de jure* side of the question, and to set forth in the light of economic principles, the relation of the Temporal Power to the modern evolution of constitutional and representative methods which have come to stay, and which, for good or for evil, are bound to shape modern national life both in the new world and in the old.

A Catholic Dictionary. By W. E. ADDIS and T. ARNOLD, M.A.
New edition, revised and enlarged, with the assistance of the
Rev. T. B. SCANNELL, B.D. Large 8vo, pp. 960. London :
Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

CATHOLIC readers will welcome the appearance of a fourth edition of this necessary work, and all the more cordially that it has passed through the revising hands of Father Scannell. Articles formerly in the Appendix have found their way into the body of the work; new articles have been added, and statistics have been brought up to date. Every one will feel that it is an advantage that Catholic households should be able to possess a single-volume work of reference to which they may turn for reliable information on matters of Catholic faith and practice. Such a desideratum is fairly met and supplied by the present work, and all true friends of the faith will feel grateful for the spirit of moderation and critical accuracy which runs through its articles. But when we pass from the Catholic general reader and come to think of what Catholic students and writers need in these days of research, we recognise in the work before us little more than a suggestion of what we ought to possess. The day has long since passed over when dictionaries of the encyclopædic kind can be written by any small number of individuals. The encyclopædic individual mind is deservedly regarded as a chimæra. When men in these days turn to such a publication for information and data they want to hear all that a live specialist thoroughly well up to date has to say upon each subject. It is only by the system of editorial bodies and the wide distribution of the articles, placing each into the hands of such specialist and recognised authorities that there can be compiled those works of ordnance which will be to us what Smith's Dictionaries are to the non-Catholic, and what Chambers or the "Encyclopædia Britannica" are to the nation. We say so much rather to indicate a need, keenly felt and still unsupplied, than to discount for a moment the value of the present Dictionary, which fulfils excellently well the popular scope for which it is intended. In its revised form we feel assured that it will meet with a still larger measure of well-deserved success at the hands of the Catholic public.

The Great Enigma. By W. S. LILLY. 8vo, pp. liv+320. London: John Murray. 1892.

THIS book—the author tells us in a dedicatory letter to Viscount Halifax—is “of the nature of an *argumentum ad hominem*, addressed to a class of readers practically outside the Christian pale.” It is an inquiry, from their point of view, into the tenableness of Christianity, into the truth or untruth of Christ’s Divinity.

Mr. Lilly has marshalled together a number of facts and arguments in support of his thesis. Their cumulative force is certainly considerable, yet we think that many might have been presented, not, indeed, in a more elegant, but in a more telling and convincing manner. Every fresh chapter we read seemed to confirm more strongly the opinion we formed when perusing the first—viz., that the work gives proof rather of an extensive reading than a profound reasoning, and shows its strength in historical rather than in philosophical treatment. We listen to the author most willingly when quoting from his rich repertory of sources. In fact, we sometimes feel that the best, pithiest, and most pungent sayings are culled from the works of others, yet they are so skilfully chosen and so deftly woven into the texture of the book that the general result is unquestionably pleasant and profitable. We are not sure that the author does not suffer to some extent in the estimation of the reader by a certain mannerism which at first sight looks very much like self-consciousness. After some well-deserved criticisms passed upon Mr. Spencer’s “Scientific Agnosticism,” we found the following:

“I am unfeignedly sorry to be obliged to offend these little ones who believe in Mr. Spencer. In truth I may claim to some fellow feeling with them. For, if Mr. Spencer will permit me to say so, I regard him with much admiration, sincere respect, and lively gratitude, profoundly as I differ from him, &c.”

Again, “A suggestion of mine was the immediate occasion of Cardinal Newman’s writing on the Inspiration of Scripture,” and “it is within my personal knowledge that nothing which ever proceeded from the pen of my venerated friend was more carefully considered.”

But these are after all small blemishes in a book at once interesting and instructive.

There are many points, some touched upon merely incidentally, concerning which we differ *toto celo* from the learned author. We cannot, for instance, share his desire to save the National Church from its threatened disestablishment, nor should we regard the consequences of such a movement at all opposed to the general welfare of the true Church in this land. So again, Mr. Lilly’s account of

M. Renan, though extremely entertaining and curious, seems to us altogether too glowing.

But let us give some account of the book :

It is divided into seven chapters—viz.: 1. "The Twilight of the Gods," in which the general groundwork of religious belief is made the subject of some inquiry. 2. "Atheism," in which the propagation of that form of unbelief is to some extent traced out and accounted for; and the modern tendencies to substitute a crude philosophy for Christianity and religion is pointed out, with special reference to England, Germany, and France. M. Monteil is the principal representative of the school, and he takes a very optimistic view of human nature. "Let man be of good cheer: let him know that human nature is essentially good, that man unspoiled by religion is just, loving, and lovable, whatever the phenomena of life may seem to teach to the contrary" (p. 65).

Chapter 3 is on "Critical Agnosticism." M. Renan is selected as the best possible illustration of this school, and his whole career is briefly sketched for the benefit of the reader, and the trials of his mind and conscience reverently inquired into. "He interested, amused, fascinated his generation, much as Voltaire interested, amused, fascinated the generation which preceded the French Revolution. We may say that in him his countrymen had another and a better Voltaire. . . . 'La vie est un enfant qu'il faut bercer jusqu'à ce qu'il s'endort' sums up," says Mr. Lilly, "the life philosophy of both."

Chapter 4, on "Scientific Agnosticism," of which Mr. Herbert Spencer is taken as the ablest exponent, covers some eighty or eighty-five pages. His system of philosophy, based for the most part upon the distinction between the knowable and the unknowable, is here submitted to a searching cross-examination and shown incapable of providing any satisfactory answer to the great enigma. It would be impossible to give a synopsis of this lengthy chapter, or to take note of the many points of conflict. Those, however, who are familiar with Mr. Spencer's voluminous writings will scarcely need to be told where his teaching is at variance with sound Catholic faith.

"Life, according to Mr. Spencer, is 'adequately conceived only when we think of it as the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations.' Is life really no more than that? Does this decomposition really explain the man? How is it that I know aught external at all? Without the oneness, continuity, and identity of the thinking subject, it would be impossible to unite the elements of sensible knowledge: 'to grasp together the manifold of intuition into the unity of apprehension;' as Kant speaks. The

very condition of knowledge is the simplicity and persistence of the *ego*" (p. 145). Mr. Lilly assures us that "Mr. Spencer does not seem to possess even a rudimentary knowledge of the value of evidence and the nature of proof" (p. 147).

Nor is this all. "Mr. Spencer does not recognise the faculty of intuition. In truth, it is incompatible with his doctrine of The Unknowable. The primordial verities which it reveals to us he explains as lapsed sensations, as experiences of the race transmitted from age to age by heredity in organic form to the individual. He does not appear so much as to understand what metaphysicians mean when they speak of *à priori*, of 'ideals,' of 'laws of thought.' He exhibits no acquaintance with the philosophical import of the word 'necessity'" (p. 154). "His psychology" in fact is, in Mr. Lilly's phraseology, "but physiology thinly disguised in a few metaphysical rags and tatters. Yet, with all his parade of physical science, his system is not really founded upon experience at all" (p. 155).

Chapter 5 deals with "Rational Theism," and the inquiry whether Theism is, in fact, so hopelessly discredited as is frequently and confidently alleged. This is a very practical and important chapter, as the common arguments urged against Theism are first considered, examined, and found to be absolutely wanting, and then the grounds for belief in a personal God are clearly indicated and shown to be grounds "afforded by reason freely exercised according to the methods specially prized in these days."

Chapters 6 and 7 styled respectively "The Inner Light," and "The Christian Synthesis," lead us to the more constructive portion of Mr. Lilly's book. The contention in the seventh or last chapter is, to use the author's own words, "That while no one pretends that Christianity offers us a complete explanation of the scheme of things, there is no more reason in the nineteenth century than there was in the first, why its message should not be received by cultivated and intelligent men who feel their need of it, and who will carefully and candidly examine its claims for themselves. We may call Christianity, if we will, a chapel in the infinite. Still, it is a sacred shrine where life and death are transfigured for us, where we may gaze into the eternal realms of Spirit and Deity, where wise and learned, foolish and ignorant alike, may handle everlasting realities, and realise in their deepest experience, the powers of the world to come."

François Bacon. Par GEORGES L. FONSEGRIVE. 8vo, pp. 420. Paris: Lethielleux. 1893. 3fr. 50c.

FRENCH writers have always been famed for producing clear, concise, and interesting manuals. M. Fonsegrive's volume on Bacon is an excellent specimen of this style of work. Although the extent of his reading is vast, yet he never parades it ostentatiously nor overwhelms us with a mass of quotations. The arrangement of his materials is orderly, his exposition lucid, his judgment calm and unbiassed. If he has to find fault with his subject or with those who have written about him, he does so in a way that excites no animosity.

An exhaustive analysis and a copious index add much to the usefulness of his monograph. After a brief account of Bacon's chequered career, he passes on at once to state and develop the leading idea of the Baconian philosophy: "The true and legitimate object of the sciences is none other than the endowment of human life, with new inventions and new wealth" (*Nov. Org.*, i. 82). This much is by way of introduction. Then comes the main portion of the volume, divided into three books. The first of these gives an account of Bacon's attacks on his predecessors, and points out how unwarranted many of them are. Next we have an exposition and criticism of his system—his classification of the sciences, his methodology, his metaphysic, his scientific work, and his ethical and political principles. Lastly, there is a discussion as to the influence actually exercised by Bacon on the advancement of the sciences and on the course of thought during the last three centuries. Most of the material dealt with is of course familiar enough to English readers of philosophy, but we can, nevertheless, admire the literary skill with which it is set forth. Two portions, however, are specially noteworthy; the defence of the Schoolmen (pp. 95–119), and the account of Bacon's influence on the *philosophes* of the eighteenth century (pp. 320–331). Voltaire and the Encyclopædists looked upon him as their parent, and the Convention ordered his works to be translated and printed at the public expense. This is the reason why De Maistre singled him out for a fierce onslaught. M. Fonsegrive, while disapproving of the violence of the doughty champion of the Catholic re-action, is of opinion that his strictures are now generally held to be justified. As to the other point—the defence of the Schoolmen, the following extract deserves to be quoted:

We may grant that from his utilitarian point of view Bacon had some reason for reproaching Aristotle and his successors for preferring theory to practice, contemplation to action, science to usefulness. But Bacon

was not justified in saying that Aristotle and his successors knew nothing of experience or induction; he was wrong in saying that since the time of the Greeks there had been no inventions, that neither the sciences nor the arts had made any progress, and that nothing had been done but to repeat stupidly the idle trash of the ancients. To be just, he should have borne in mind that the Middle Ages had the gigantic task of reducing the barbarians to Romano-Christian civilisation, of defending Europe against the inroads of the Mussulmans, of forming laws. Not content with performing this task, the Middle Ages preserved, by the pen of the monks, the literary and scientific treasures of antiquity; by the trowel of architects and the chisel of sculptors they covered Europe with magnificent civil and religious monuments; by the tongue and pen of great doctors they assimilated and developed the scientific patrimony handed down by the ancients, they laid up vast stores of materials for future inquirers, and prepared the way for modern science. Justice demands that all this should not be forgotten, and surely this would be enough for the glory of the Middle Ages. But Bacon could not be just. The Middle Ages had cultivated metaphysics and speculative science, and this, in his eyes, was the head and front of their offending. Their labours appeared to him to be contaminated in their very source. He condemned them all *en bloc* and without examining into them. He aimed at nothing less than destroying the very spirit which animated that epoch. He could not be just—revolutionists never are—because violence and passion are opposed to justice and because revolutions cannot be carried on without passion and violence (pp. 119-120).

T. B. SCANNELL.

Bernardin de St. Pierre. By ARVÈDE BARINE. Translated by J. E. GORDON. With a Preface by AUGUSTINE BIRRELL. 8vo, pp. xviii-409. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893. (The Great French Writers).

WHEN Sainte-Beuve, the prince of French critics, calls "Paul and Virginia" "an adorable book," and when a grim Scotchman like Carlyle speaks of it as "the swan-song of old dying France," we must recognise that its author has a right to a place among the great writers of his country. The French people themselves have long decided in his favour. At the same time the story on which his fame rests does not count many English readers. We prefer our own Robinson Crusoe to the French imitation. The loves of Paul and Virginia, their sentimental talks about nature and virtue and Providence, do not appeal to us in the same way as the manly self-reliance and fertile resource of Defoe's hero. St. Pierre's larger work "*Études de la Nature*" (of which indeed "Paul and Virginia" is an episode, or rather a practical application) was meant by its author to be a grave work on the philosophy of "nature," and a defence of Providence. Its real value lies in its vivid descriptions of scenery. Before he wrote, the French tongue was singularly poor in terms

capable of depicting nature. To him, more even than to Rousseau, is due the honour of having begun the work of enriching the language, which was one of the glories of the Romantic School. "Without the '*Études de la Nature*,' not only '*René*' and '*Atala*,' '*Jocelyn*' and '*Graziella*,' but the '*Génie du Christianisme*' and the '*Méditations*,' would have been different from what they are." And his influence may be clearly traced in the living landscapes of the "*Pêcheur d'Islande*."

It does not become a foreigner to set himself in judgment on an eminent French critic writing on one of the classic authors of his country. I may say, however, that M. Barine's volume is admirable in every respect, and is well worthy of a place in the excellent series to which it belongs. Even in its English dress we can appreciate the charm and the skill of the original. Something must necessarily be lost in the translation of such artistic work; but on the whole Mr. Gordon is to be congratulated on the way that he has performed his difficult task. Now and then an "en" or "on" is not very smoothly rendered, and, though the French equivalent is feminine, Providence ought surely not to be spoken of as "she" and "her." And why is Virgil's epic called the "*Eniad*"? Mr. Augustine Birrell's preface is characterised by his usual dash of cynical humour. As it only serves to damp the reader's enthusiasm it should be read *after* M. Barine's little book, or, better still, omitted altogether.

T. B. S.

Histoire du Pape Etienne X. (Pape Belge). Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie.

WE see by the glorious pontificate of Leo XIII., happily reigning, how intimately the life and influence of any Pope are interwoven with contemporary history and the life of nations. The pamphlet before us is another illustration of this important truth. We owe, therefore, a debt of gratitude to M. Ulysse Robert for this short sketch of the life of Stephen X., which is an important contribution to the history of the eleventh century. Stephen X. received in baptism the name of Frederic. He was educated at the famous school of St. Lambert, Liège, of which cathedral he became a canon and archdeacon. From St. Lambert's he went to St. Peter's chair, which he occupied seven months and twenty-nine days. He is spoken of in his epitaph as "*Sanctitate et miraculorum gloria illustris*." For an appendix to his pamphlet M. Robert gives the

text of All Stephen's Bulls. Belgium has given few Popes to the Church, and cannot afford to allow their memory to die out, especially as the halo of sanctity and learning adorns the head of the illustrious Stephen X.

Auguste Comte, Fondateur du Positivisme. Sa Vie : Sa Doctrine. Par le R. P. GRUBER, S.J. Traduit de l'allemand par l'Abbé MAZOYER. 8vo, pp. xviii-321. Avec une Préface par M. OLLÉ-LAPRUNE. Paris: Lethielleux. 1892 (3fcs. 50c.).

ALTHOUGH the English reader is especially well placed for studying Comte's life and writings, nevertheless the Catholic reader has felt the want of some concise account of them looked at from a Catholic point of view. Those who were able to read German hailed with great satisfaction the appearance of Father Gruber's monograph on Comte. Thanks to the Abbé Mazoyer the wider class of readers familiar with French can now enjoy the benefit of the learned Jesuit's labours. The translation has been executed under the author's supervision, and may therefore be taken as an accurate expression of his views. The French edition also has the advantage of an excellent introduction from the able pen of M. Ollé-Laprune.

T. B. S.

Cambridge Historical Essays. No. VI. The Somerset Religious Houses. By W. A. J. ARCHBOLD, B.A., LL.B. Prince Consort Dissertation. 1890. 8vo, pp. 407. Cambridge: At the University Press.

THIS volume is, if we may be permitted to say so, a work of much promise, and highly creditable to Mr. Archbold. It is true it does not contain very much that is new; but, on the other hand, it gives evidence of a wide acquaintance with the literature dealing with the history of the Church of England during the Reformation period, and especially with the subject of the dissolution of the monasteries. Mr. Archbold has not, however, confined his researches to the pages of works already published; he has, to some extent, drawn from hitherto-unpublished sources, and has enriched his work with copies of many letters and other documents illustrative of the subject.

We are glad to see that Mr. Archbold—no doubt as the result of independent study—is at one with Father Gasquet and other recent writers upon the iniquity of the manner in which the destruction of

the religious houses was brought about. Of the visitors who were sent to inquire into the state of the monasteries he uses such adjectives as "vile" and "untrustworthy"; as to the motives for the suppression, he thinks they were by no means merely a wish for reform; in fact, the visitors were sent to the monasteries, not to inquire into the state of discipline, but "to secure the suppression." Still, it must be added, that though Mr. Archbold is not in sympathy with the way in which the suppression was carried out, he is clearly of opinion that the time had come for the abolition of the old monastic system, and that on the whole the suppression was an advantage to the nation.

We do not propose to enter upon a detailed criticism of the book, which, we may say, contains a good deal of useful and interesting information. Much is said in defence of the charity and hospitality practised by the monks, though the author does not think that the poverty and distress that arose about the time of the suppression were due to the disappearance of the religious houses. To some extent no doubt they were; but he attributes them more largely to social and economic changes involved in the gradual downfall of the feudal system. Mr. Archbold has a word to say on the part taken by the monasteries in the work of education, and here, too, he is a sympathetic critic. The knowledge imparted by the monks to their scholars he admits not to have been extensive. But this was so, he argues, owing to the fact that the course of studies, as it existed in those days, was but narrow at best. What there was, however, the monks were willing to impart.

Taken on the whole, Mr. Archbold's work is fair and liberal. There is little in it that we can find fault with; and we hope that the author will be encouraged by the success attending this early effort to attempt some more ambitious work in the near future.

J. A. H.

Saint Paul : ses Missions. Par l'Abbé C. FOUARD. Large 8vo, pp. 544. Paris. V. Lecoffre. 7frs. 50c.

HIGHER praise can hardly be given to this volume than to say that it is the worthy continuation of the life of our Lord and the history of the Apostolic Church, which are so widely known in this country in their English—or rather, American—translation. The part now before us begins with the journey of Saul and Barnabas to Cyprus, and ends with St. Paul's arrival in Rome, covering therefore the sixteen years of his missionary life and labours. The number and variety of the incidents of this period are so great that it was

comparatively easy for such a practised writer to put before his readers a narrative full of interest; but the Abbé Fouard has done much more than this. In a very masterly manner he shows the continuity that pervades the whole of St. Paul's teaching. The vocation of that great Apostle was to offer the Jews first the good tidings of the Gospel, and on their refusal to turn to the Gentiles; his message was a larger and deeper conception of the work of redemption than had been preached by the Twelve. He realised vividly that all men alike were fallen, and were unable to rise from their state of misery and sin save by faith in Christ, who had become the head of regenerate humanity, a mystical body "animated with one life, and in which beats but one heart, that of Jesus." Thence followed the inefficacy of the works of the law—the external practices of Judaism—from the bondage of which the Apostle set the infant Church free. His inward character was no less consistent with itself from the beginning to the end of his career. To take one point alone: our author does not seem to be acquainted with Cardinal Newman's celebrated sermon on St. Paul's gift of sympathy; but he brings out this feature of the Apostle's character very clearly and frequently, and connects it with that ill-health and suffering which made him so dependent on the companionship and help of his devoted disciples.

The details of the volume are worked out no less satisfactorily than the central ideas which give unity to the whole. Athens, Corinth, Asia Minor, are all clearly, sometimes brilliantly described; and every circumstance bearing on the Apostle's missions is carefully brought out. In this, the historical part of his work, the author shows an intimate familiarity with Conybeare and Howson, Lewin, Lightfoot, and other Anglican authorities, who have done so much to illustrate and elucidate the history of St. Paul's life and labours. A clear conception of the Apostle's life and surroundings is an indispensable preliminary to understanding the Epistles; and those which fall within this period are briefly but sufficiently explained, with all the advantage that a Catholic commentator enjoys over the most learned non-Catholic. Not only are the general drift and purposes of the Epistles brought out, but many difficult questions of detail are discussed with invariable sobriety and lucidity. As examples of such points we may refer to the account of the last apostasy and that which hinders its manifestation; baptising for the dead, and, above all, the charismata in the Primitive Church. This last is illustrated and completed by comparison with the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and the result is a most interesting account of the supernatural gifts of the first Christians.

The author gives us to understand that he purposes finishing his

work by the addition of two more volumes—one on the last years of St. Paul, the second on St. John. Every one who has followed him so far will join in the hope that he may be spared to complete such a valuable and important work.

Sermons on the Old Testament. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D.
London: Methuen & Co. 1892.

THIS volume of sermons, Dr. Driver writes in the preface, "may be regarded as supplementary, to a certain extent, to my 'Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,' published in 1891." In fact, the "Introduction" was intended as an exposition of the author's views on the authorship, date and literary character of the various books of the Old Testament; the present volume undertakes to show the permanent value of the Old Testament; how it may be "fruitfully and intelligently studied," and how it may be made "practically useful at the present day."

Dr. Driver has prefixed, as a kind of introduction to the series of sermons in the present volume, the paper which he read before the Church Congress, held last year at Folkestone, on the permanent, moral and devotional value of the Old Testament for the Christian Church. We are glad to find him saying therein, that "the moral and devotional value of the Old Testament—as indeed its religious value generally—is unaffected by critical questions respecting the authorship or date of its various parts." But though Dr. Driver says this, still it seems to us that he is only able to make the statement by abating much of what used to be claimed by Anglicans as the special prerogative and distinctive characteristic of sacred Scripture. At least, it is hard to see how the religious value of the Old Testament is unaffected by critical conclusions, if the following words sum up, as Dr. Driver says they do, its moral and devotional value: "I should say that these were partly its fine literary form, partly the great variety of mode and occasion by which the creed and practice of its best men are exemplified, partly the intensity of spirit by which its teaching is penetrated and sustained." If the secret of the devotional value of the Old Testament consists in such things as these, it is placed at once in the same category as the "Following of Christ," or even the "Pilgrim's Progress." But what has become of the unique prerogative of the Bible? Has Inspiration nothing to do with its religious value? Does it gain nothing from the fact of its Divine Authorship?

In the sixth sermon, Dr. Driver sets forth some points of view from which the Old Testament may be said to have a "permanent

importance." To summarise them we find that importance to consist in (1) the revelation it contains of the character of God, who is represented as a personal Being, spiritual, all-holy, all-just, all-wise, &c.; (2) in the ideal of human character which it sets before us; it stimulates us by many a noble example of faith and action; (3) in the bearing which it has upon the Christian faith; for Judaism was the cradle of Christianity; and (4) lastly, in the evidence which it gives to the truth of Christianity; for, "when all deductions which exegetical and critical honesty demands have been made, it is impossible to overlook or deny the correspondence subsisting between the anticipations and ideals of Israel and their fulfilment in Christ."

Such are the respects in which, according to Dr. Driver, the Old Testament may be said to be permanently important. And certainly we are not disposed to deny that, among the greatest glories of the Old Testament, are the revelation it affords of the Divine Nature, and its prophetic character in relation to the Incarnation. But what we notice is that Dr. Driver says nothing of Inspiration, as chiefly constituting the importance of the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Law to man. We do not see it said of them that they are the Word of God; that they constitute the message which God delivered to His creatures before His coming among them; and that as such they must ever be important to mankind. At first we were disposed to imagine that the author was reserving what he had to say on that subject for the sermon on Inspiration. But since in that discourse he even questions the advisability of calling the entire Bible the Word of God, it would seem that Dr. Driver has advisedly omitted among those things that make for the "permanent importance" of the Old Testament, the fact that it is truly the "Word of God."

In two sermons Dr. Driver discusses the story of Creation, one upon the subject of Evolution, the other on the first chapter of Genesis. In reality, these discourses contain little which is not to be found in the author's essay on the same subject in the *Expositor* for January 1886. From both, however, it is clear that Dr. Driver holds that the Bible narrative of the Creation cannot be harmonised with the teaching of science on the subject. The sermon, On the Growth of Belief in a Future State, is mainly taken up with an examination of the views expressed by the apocryphal Book of Henoch on the state of men after death: the belief in immortality, properly so-called, is held to have been of comparatively recent origin among the Jews.

Two sermons, towards the end of the volume, particularly struck us, because the writer seems to go out of his way to discredit the usually received interpretation of two beautiful passages of Holy

Writ (Is. lxiii., Ps. lxviii.). Dr. Driver questions the propriety of applying the first passage, which begins with the words, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?" to Jesus Christ. He does not think that, rightly understood, the words refer to the Passion and sufferings of Christ. The verse of the 68th Psalm to which we especially refer is the 18th, "Thou hast ascended on high, Thou hast led captivity captive." "Captivity," in this passage, Dr. Driver tells us, is simply an abstract noun used for the concrete; and hence the words do not mean that Christ "led captive and subdued the power which enthralled others." We are not convinced by Dr. Driver's argument in either case; nor do we think that the Church has any need to change the Office either for Paschal Time or Ascension Day. We doubt not that she will continue to use without misgiving the glorious prophecies contained in the 63rd chapter of Isaiah and the 68th Psalm.

The discourses in the volume before us might more properly be said to be lectures than discourses. They are undoubtedly characterised by ability and eloquence; but it seems to us that too often the author strives to make a brilliant point at the expense of the traditional interpretation of sacred Scripture, even where there is plenty of evidence in defence of the older and commoner view. There is a great deal in the volume with which we are out of accord; indeed the writer seems to us to be at pains to show in what, according to him, the value of the Old Testament does not consist, rather than it what it does. Still with many of the opinions expressed we are in entire sympathy. In all the praise lavished on the Old Testament and in the encomiums pronounced on the prophets we heartily concur. But we go further; we regard it as being the unique excellence and glory of the Old Testament that it is truly and in a real sense, the "Word of God."

J. A. HOWLETT.

Napoléon et Alexandre I^{er}. L'alliance Russe sous le Premier Empire. II. 1809—Le second Mariage de Napoléon. Déclin de l'alliance. Par ALBERT VANDAL. 8vo, pp. 570. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893.

THIS second volume of M. Vandal's great work is fully equal in merit and interest to that so favourably noticed in this REVIEW in October 1891. It deals mainly with Napoleon's diplomatic contests with the three great foes whom he had vanquished in battle. In this new sphere of action the victorious soldier proved himself a master in the choice of the policy to be followed, but he found that the execution of his plans was far more difficult in the court than in

the field. His overbearing manner, his violence of language, the tremendous material forces which he had at hand to support his demands—all these imposed upon the more timid of his adversaries; these weapons, however, often fail in contests in which the victory is due more to finesse than to force. All through his career, too, he had to count with an adversary beyond the reach of his arms, and therefore unaffected by his threats. England, though one of her armies was rotting away in the swamps of Walcheren, and the other was cooped up within the lines of Torres Vedras, still commanded the ocean, and still refused to come to any terms with the usurper. In all the shiftings and windings of the diplomacy of the time we can see the influence and the gold of England steadily working against Napoleon's plans. M. Vandal calls this the policy of Waterloo. The English Ministers were not geniuses; but they knew that if they held their ground allies would ultimately come to their aid. As I remarked in noticing the first volume, M. Vandal seems to write with a purpose. He is far from indulging in any violent diatribes against England; but he seems to say to his French and Russian readers: "*L'Angleterre—violà l'ennemi.*" No doubt he is right. Napoleon's design of using Russia against Germany failed mainly through England's intervention.

A conspicuous instance of the success of Napoleon's policy was the war with Austria in 1809. If his three vanquished opponents had united their forces at this time they might have overwhelmed him. He contrived, however, to beguile two of them and to crush the one whom he had thus isolated. The terrible battle of Essling, a greater check to his arms than even that of Eylau, placed him in a position of the gravest danger. The Russian and Prussian courts could not conceal their exultation at his embarrassment. But never did his genius as a diplomat and a general shine forth with such splendour as at this time of difficulty. While making almost superhuman exertions for a renewal of the struggle, he so imposed upon the Russian and Prussian ambassadors that they warned their Governments of the danger of junction with the triumphant Austrians; and within a few weeks of his defeat the glorious victory of Wagram made him once more the dictator of Europe.

The story of the diplomacy connected with the Austrian marriage is admirably told by M. Vandal. As is well known, Napoleon would have preferred to marry the Czar's sister, the Grand Duchess Anne. What M. Vandal brings out is, that this design failed not through any refusal on Napoleon's part, but through the determined opposition of the dowager empress secretly backed up by Alexander. As the campaign of Wagram marks the height of Napoleon's triumph,

so the rejection of his proposal for the hand of the Russian Grand Duchess was the beginning of his downfall. Thenceforth Alexander and Napoleon both felt that they were destined to fight again, and in that struggle Austria and Prussia combined in the overthrow of France.

T. B. S.

Johannes Janssen. 1829-1891. Ein Lebensbild vornehmlich nach den ungedruckten Briefen und Tagebüchern desselben entworfen von LUDWIG PASTOR. Freiburg: Herder. 1892.

PROFESSOR PASTOR, favourably known to English readers by his valuable history of the Popes translated by F. Antrobus of the London Oratory, presents us with a sketch of the life of the late lamented Mgr. Janssen, the well-known historian of the German people. As one of the most gifted disciples of Professor Janssen, and possessed of his correspondence and other manuscripts, he has rendered a notable service by publishing this life within the first year after the professor's death in December 1891. Far from exhausting the materials placed at his disposal, he professes to give no more than an instalment while a larger biography based on the whole of the materials is in the course of preparation. Born in 1829, in Xanter, in Rhenish Prussia, widely known for its celebrated cathedral, John Janssen received his classical education in Recklinghausen, and afterwards followed the course of historical studies in the Universities of Bonn, Münster and Louvain. His superior intelligence and many accomplishments enabled him to enter on the career of Privatdocent in the Academy of Münster, an appointment which he shortly after exchanged for that of professor of history to the Catholic students in the gymnasium of Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Here it was that he contracted a personal friendship with John Friedrich Böhrmer, the librarian of that town, who, although himself a Protestant, has rendered an important service to the Catholic Church by publishing the *Regesta Imperii*, and by strongly insisting on the absolute need of writing a history of the German people from the Catholic standpoint. This colossal design contemplated by Professor Janssen took definitive shape only in the course of many years, and after the most painstaking research in the chief libraries and archives of Germany. His work was the embodiment of the vast erudition thus accumulated, and it might be said that the first volume had hardly left the printer's hand when it began to work a complete revolution in the department of German historiography. Janssen had broken the back of an inveterate tradition.

The intrigues of diplomatists or the successes of military leaders occupied a comparatively smaller share of his attention. The interests of religion, the development of science and art, the increase of literature, and, what is mainly to be emphasised, the social question as affecting the vast masses of the people, were handled by Professor Janssen in such a brilliant way as to win for him the admiration of Catholics and the acrid criticism of the more bigoted class of Protestants. Janssen's German style is really classical. In the six volumes of his history of the German people he has left his mark upon the progress of Germany in our time. To his vast learning he added a profound spirit of piety. Indeed, it would have been completely impossible to achieve such a gigantic undertaking, pervaded as it is by the spirit of religion and patriotism to his fatherland, had not the highest ideals which both can furnish been absent from the mind of its author. His biography by Professor Pastor merits our warmest recommendation.

BELLESHEIM.

Die Lehre von den heiligen Sacramenten der katholischen Kirche. Von Dr. SCHANZ. Freiburg: Herder. 1893. 8vo, pp. 757.

ENGLISH Catholic scholars will be familiar with the name of the learned author whose "Christian Apology," translated into English by Professors Glancey and F. Schobel, of Oscott College, has been favourably received by the leading Catholic reviews. Dr. Schanz has just brought out a bulky volume of nearly 800 pages on the Sacraments. The work has for its object to trace the historical development of the Sacraments and their accompanying ceremonies. The author has been led to take this plan of accomplishing his task, in view of the baneful fact that not a few able Protestant theologians, both in Germany and England, have set themselves to picture the institutions of the Christian Church in its first period as totally at variance with the Bible. Whereas the latter has laid a supernatural foundation, the Church is accused of having adulterated and deformed it by the introduction of mere human agencies. Hence, for Catholic theologians arises the need to come forth as defenders of the law of *continuity* which includes the development of the germs planted by Our Lord. I hardly need to point out that Professor Schanz has done his work in a thorough and scholarly way. It is a pleasing study to accompany the author from the Church life of the earliest times down to the days of the Tridentine and Vatican Councils whose dogmatical decrees are

the legitimate offspring of an unbroken continuity. While the first part (1-203) is devoted to the general principles, the second part treats of the Sacraments in particular. The arrangement is admirably clear.

Swift. Selections from his Works. Edited with Life, Introduction and Notes. By HENRY CRAIK. Two vols. 8vo, pp. 476. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d.

WITH the exception of "Gulliver's Travels," the charming extravagance of which has so popularized it as a book for children, that its satire is overlooked and forgotten, the writings of Swift are but little known to the present generation of readers. In an age teeming with light ephemeral literature this is a matter for regret. The originality and vigour of Swift's ideas, his masculine common sense, expressed in his own clear, flexible, inimitable style, enlivened with touches of irony and caustic wit, would prove a valuable corrective to so much that is empty and superficial. Doubtless the broadness of their wit, and their want of restraint in expression and fancy, clashing with the taste and stricter requirements of the present day, are largely accountable for the comparative disuse into which Swift's works have fallen. It is Mr. Craik's main object to remedy this defect. He tells us in his preface that—

It is the aim of this Selection to give, as full as the exigences of space and the taste of the present day permit, specimens of the whole range of Swift's works, and to elucidate by notes what is obscure in intention or recondite in allusion.

As far as we can judge (only the first volume has come to hand), Mr. Craik has succeeded admirably. He has shown nice discrimination in the work of selection, and has pruned with a reverent hand. The extracts, which are long and continuous, so as to give the reader a good idea of the particular work from which they are taken, are preceded by introductions explanatory of the circumstances and objects of their composition, and elucidated throughout by copious notes.

Volume I. contains a few specimens of Swift's earlier poems, and long extracts from his earlier prose works; Dissensions in Athens and Rome; A Tale of a Tub; The Battle of the Books; Journal to Stella; and Contributions to the *Examiner*. The specimens are preceded by an excellent and scholarly essay on the Life and Works of Swift. For the style of production of the volume, its clear, correct printing, its neatness and good taste, the name of the Clarendon Press is a sufficient guarantee.

J. B. MILBURN.

Hungary and its People. By LOUIS FELBERMANN. 8vo, pp. 390.
London: Griffith, Farran & Co.

IN this work we have a compendious account of the origin and history of the Hungarians. The natural features of their country, and their quaint customs are presented at some length. Courtship and marriage, weddings and funerals supply many interesting pages. The national music is touched upon and specimens given; the national dress and dances described and illustrated. In fact, there are all the requirements for an interesting work.

We fear, however, that to most readers the book will prove somewhat heavy reading, in spite of the many interesting topics discussed. The arrangement is choppy, if the term may be allowed; and the style is awkward and jarring. It is an ungracious task to be thus driven to criticise the picture whilst at the same time we are bound to praise the frame, for the manner in which the work is produced, its type, its paper, its cover in the national colours, and many of its numerous illustrations, leave nothing to be desired.

To any one desirous of information concerning Hungary we can, however, honestly recommend Mr. Felbermann's work. If it will not charm it will inform; and to an intending tourist in Hungary will supply a veritable edition *de luxe* of a guide-book.

J. B. M.

Reviews in Brief.

Sanctae Viae Crucistationes. XIV. Artificum Beuronensium manibus pictae. XIV. Imagines phototypia redditae. Editio altera. Friburgi: Herder. 1892.—The revival of the Benedictine Order in Germany is intimately connected with a new departure in Christian art. To-day the works of the Benedictine school of painters have become the object of the most unqualified admiration in Germany and Italy. They are adorning the time-honoured walls of Monte Cassino, and likewise the convent churches of Beuron, Emmaus in the capital of Bohemia, and Maredsous in Belgium. The principles animating the Benedictine painters are quite in conformity with the traditions of their order—viz., prayer and study of art. They disclaim to act on the lines of any particular school, but are bent on bringing the specialities of all schools into the service of God. Foremost amongst their recent achievements rank the pictures of the Via Crucis in the Catholic Church, Stuttgart, which Mr. Herder, of Freiburg, has just brought out in admirable photos. They may be had in two sizes, $33\frac{1}{2} \times 43$ centimeters, and 23×32 centimeters, and will render excellent service either to religious communities or private individuals seeking to meditate on the mysteries of Our Lord's Passion. Far from adopting the severe manner of the Byzantine school, the Benedictine painters are faithful students of nature, but in the meantime elevate natural forms into the sphere of grace. Hence everybody in examining these excellent pictures becomes reminded of Fra Angelico da Fiesole. This comparison will suffice to commend this series not only to the public generally, but also to the students of Christian art. Indeed they represent the highest development of Christian art in our age.

Manual of the Holy Family. Compiled by the Rev. BONAVENTURA HAMER, O.S.F. 12mo, pp. 525. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Bros.—A convenient prayer-book containing the rules of the Holy Family, and a large number of devotional prayers. It contains several very useful and practical instructions on the duties of Catholics towards their parish church and their parish priest. Printed in America, the manual speaks of the latter under that term, so distastefully Lutheranish to European ears, "Pastor"; but

the advice given is sound and salutary. The following sentence might have been more clearly worded: "Generally speaking, persons and families who reside in one parish, and hold pews or seats in another parish belong to that other church, and are *subject* to its pastor." That is just what it comes to, but what it ought not to be. The subjection is not *de jure*, and ought not to be *de facto*.

The Ancient Church at Silchester. The old Manor House at Bedehampton, Early Window at Boarhunt (reprint from Proceedings of Hampshire Field Club). By Rev. G. W. MINNS, LL.B., F.S.A. 8vo, pp. 15.—Those who have studied the papers on Silchester contributed to the *Archæologia*, and especially the admirable essay and maps in vol. 1., will feel grateful to Mr. Minns for putting into convenient form the latest data concerning the ancient Christian Church. Mr. Minns defends, rightly as we think, the Christian character of the structure against the contention of Mr. Wright, that Christianity had no hold upon Roman Britain. An extract is given from the sermon of the Dean of Winchester, referring to this ancient Basilica. With a light heart the Dean reads merrily his own views of primitive Christian worship into what remains after centuries of detrition and denudation. There, of course, the destructive forces of nature work for his theory. He does not point out triumphantly to the absence of vestments and Rosary beads, and crucifixes, as did a certain enthusiastic gentleman when treating of the ancient Church of Pieranzabuloe, unearthed from the sands after some fourteen or fifteen centuries. But he notes not unfairly the absence of a stone altar, and the orientation which corresponds with some of the older structures in Rome. Yet it was St. John Chrysostom who described these very churches when he spoke of the "*θυσιαστήρια*" in Britain. And "place of sacrifice" applied as the very name for an altar or sanctuary, is surely the strongest and clearest expression of belief in that local and objective sacrifice, the very idea of which was so studiously obliterated by Cranmer when compiling the formularies of the Church of England. Mr. Minns also mentions the discovery at Silchester of the ring with the Christian legend—*Seneciane vivas in Deo*—so suggestive of the inscriptions found in the Catacombs.

Le Roman d'une Impératrice, Catherine II. de Russie, d'après ses mémoires, sa correspondance, et les documents inédits des Archives d'Etat. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie., Imprimeur-éditeurs. 1893.—M. Waliszewski has been happily inspired in the title he has chosen for his book. Few romances can equal in interest

the chequered life of "Figchen" of Anhalt-Zerbst, daughter of an insignificant German princelet, who left her father's toy court to rule over all the Russias.

The "Roman d'une Impératrice" is not a panegyric, but a sober historical record. Catherine the Great was no saint, nor even a good woman, and her historian has not whitewashed her; but she built up on the foundations laid by Peter the Great that mighty empire which to this day forms the most serious complication of Eastern diplomacy. Her genius was essentially political, and was as remarkable for its limitations as for its brilliancy. No transcendental speculations ever illuminated or clouded her practical mind.

Creeds were useful weapons of government. Conviction, as she ironically remarked apropos of the reception into the Greek Church of her son's Lutheran *fiancée*, would follow profession.

Very interesting to political students is the gradual metamorphosis of her earlier liberal ideas into the absolutest theory of the "enlightened tyrant," which, as Waliszewski well remarks, is the social correlative to the philosophy of Voltaire.

The prophets of the Encyclopædia had no love for the people.

The book is admirably arranged for reference, though perhaps the narrative may suffer from the separate treatment of various phases of Catherine's character and career. No one who wishes to master the sociological elements underlying the "Russian Question" of to-day, or make himself acquainted with this mighty personality, powerful for good and evil alike, should fail to read M. Waliszewski's interesting "Roman."

A. THOROLD.

The Catholic Tune-Book. Edited by JOHN STORER, Mus. Bac. Oxon., Mus. Doc. Trin. Coll. Tor., &c. &c. London: Alphonse Cary, R. Washbourne, Benziger Brothers. 1893. Paper 2s. 6d. Cloth 3s. Pp. 156.—We welcome yet another tune-book to help in the better performance of our public Catholic services. Nothing more shows how much such helps are needed as the steady flow of these publications. We may say of this one that it brings into greater prominence the excellent Hymn-book of Father Langton George Vere's compilation, which is as admirable in size and arrangement as it is reasonable in price. Dr. Storer goes afield even of this book, and for those not yet quite prepared to give up the older Latin for the newer English devotions, new tunes have been provided to replace at will the more known ones. The preface tells us that "The Editor is responsible for the harmonies to all the German plain songs, traditional and ancient tunes." We feel sure that few, if any, will be disappointed, and we also are confident, as we sincerely hope, that a

close perusal of this little work will make it extremely popular. It bears the imprimatur of Cardinal Vaughan. G. A. G.

Enchiridion ad Sacrarum Disciplinarum Cultores accomodatum opera et studio Zephyrini Zitelli-natali. Editio quarta. Large 8vo, pp. 246. Baltimore: J. Murphy. — A very useful handbook of reference for Church history. It contains the list of the Popes, with dates, and a few lines of biography to each, a list of the General Councils, with date, names of reigning Pope, Emperor, and the import of its action, the chief editions of the Old and New Testaments, the chief versions of same, list of the Fathers, and of ecclesiastical writers, with dates and brief notice, up to 1869. The part of the list which deals with modern times is very fragmentary. The list of American sects is also we suspect rather imperfect, as it includes only forty. A list of collections of Canon Law is followed by a list of local Councils, a list of the Sees in the United States, and last, but not least, a good index. The usefulness of the book lies in its help to ready reference.

Flowers of the Passion: Thoughts of St. Paul of the Cross, gathered from the letters of the Saint, by the Rev. LOUIS TH. DE JÉSUS-AGONISANT, of the same order. Translated from the French by ELLA A. MULLIGAN. 12mo, pp. 241. London: Burns and Oates. New York: Benziger Bros.—A small manual of pious considerations in which the Passion of Our Lord is referred to the various features of the spiritual life. Its portable size ought to make it a useful companion in Church, and especially at the foot of the Crucifix.

Do the Dead Return? By a Clergyman of the Church of England. 8vo, pp. 127. London: Fisher Unwin.—The work of a clergyman who assisted at a number of spiritualistic sittings with a few friends, of whose good faith he was assured. The reader is instructed in the successive chapters how the spirits knock, how they write, how they speak, how they make themselves seen. Facsimiles of their writing are reproduced for the benefit of the sceptical reader. Neither the penmanship nor the spelling would satisfy the most indulgent of Her Majesty's Inspectors. The author has deprived the book of much of its value by withholding his name. There are things which would be hard to believe even when told us by those whom we know, and which become incredible when told us by those whom we know not.

The Oresteia of Aeschylus. Translated by LEWIS CAMPBELL. 8vo, pp. 161. London: Methuen & Co.—A good translation into

English prose of the three dramas, *Agamemnon*, *Choëphoræ*, and *Eumenides*, which make up an Aeschylean trilogy. The work is preceded by an interesting introduction and followed by notes.

A Gentleman. By MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN, LL.D. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1893.—This little book, which the author declares to be intended for young men from fifteen to twenty years of age, is cheerful, interesting, and amusing. It contains much useful information well condensed and expressed, and conveys sound advice that might with profit be read by many who have passed the limit of age marked in the author's preface. His chapters on "What to Read," and "The Home Bookshelf," display a cultured and well-stocked mind, and give sound advice on the method of choosing books.

The Child Countess. By MRS. WILLIAM MAUDE. London: Washbourne. 1893.—This vivid historical vignette, though so far intended for children that its subject is the story of one who died at the age of twelve, may be read with interest by readers of all ages. Its bright narrative puts before us the life of English Catholics under the early Stuarts, and the persecutions to which they were subjected by the outlawry of their religion. The indirect lesson of faith and courage which it thus conveys renders it peculiarly suitable as a prize or gift book for children.

A Mixed Marriage. By LADY AMABEL KERR. London: Art and Book Company. 1893.—The drift of Lady Amabel Kerr's pathetic and touching tale is sufficiently indicated by its title. The story of a man without real religion or principle, brought up in the bitterest anti-Catholic prejudice, yet so subjugated by the individual charm of a Catholic girl, a charm in which the influence of the detested faith is often an unrecognised element, as to be willing at the moment to sacrifice everything to the chance of winning her, is an every-day one. In the case before us, he breaks his promise as to the religion of the children on the birth of a son, and thus creates a moral divergence between him and his wife, which not even their mutual attachment can ever wholly bridge. For the pathos of the situation is in this, that these hearts so widely separated in all matters of spiritual cognisance, do yet truly love each other according to the capacity of their different natures, while blindly groping for a link of higher sympathy across the gulf of misapprehension that divides them. The mother's crowning anguish is caused by the worthlessness of her son, who, removed from her care in childhood, and estranged from all home influences, early graduates in fashionable dissipation, while

his conduct suggests the bitter thought that it would have been better for him if she had never brought him into the world.

Raoul de Bérignan. By MRS. CORBALLIS. London: Burns & Oates.—This little volume narrates in a simple and graceful style the adventures of a little French *émigré* who, at twelve years of age, finds himself an exile in Southampton, deprived, as he believed, of all his immediate relations by the guillotine. How he here unexpectedly finds kind friends and a comfortable home, and how in his old age he revisits France and is joyously received by a surviving sister and her descendants, while his grandson, another Raoul, recovers his ancestral castle by marriage, forms the subject of a pretty story prettily told.

A Defender of the Faith. By TIVOLI. London: Griffith & Farran. 1892.—The sub-title of this clever character-sketch, "The Romance of a Business Man," prepares the reader for the leading part that commercial intrigue plays in the development of the plot, while the element of religious controversy implied in the *rôle* of Defender of the Faith ascribed to its principal character, is enacted in the struggle between the Evangelical and High Church parties in a small mercantile community in the North of England some forty or fifty years ago. The principal interest of the story is concentrated in the downfall of the protagonist, and the gradual deterioration of his weak though superficially amiable nature, until the psychological moment arrives with its crucial temptation, to which the previous lowering of his moral standard renders him an easy prey. The *dénouement* is not wanting in sensational interest, but is reached a little too slowly for the ordinary reader, who is, as a rule, impatient of preparatory incident in fiction.

The Story of the War in La Vendée. By GEORGE J. HILL, M.A. London: Burns & Oates.—The story of the desperate struggle of La Vendée can never cease to interest all who admire faith and heroism combined. The present work, published as one of the volumes of the Granville Library, tells the story of that heroic episode of the French Revolution with the clearness of one fully possessed of the subject, and the animation of one deeply stirred by it. The result is a valuable contribution to the history of that time of tragedy and terror, making some of its most thrilling scenes live over again on the pages of the narrator.

Books Received.

- Recent Evidence for the Authenticity of the Gospels.** Tatian's Diatessaron. By Rev. M. Maher, S.J.
- A Sevenfold Treasure.** By Miss L. Dobrée.
- A Guide to Heaven,** for the use of those at Sea. 8vo, pp. 361.
- A Mother's Sacrifice,** and other Tales. By A. M. Clarke. Catholic Truth Society. 8vo, pp. 185. 1s.
- Corona Beatæ Mariæ Virginis.** Thoughts about the Blessed Virgin for every day of the year, taken from the writings of the Saints. 12mo, pp. 128. London: R. Washbourne.
- The Catholic Tune Book.** Edited by John Storer. 8vo, pp. 155. London: Alphonse Cary, R. Washbourne. 2s. 6d.
- A Defender of the Faith.** By Tivoli. 8vo, pp. 419. London: Griffith, Farran & Co.
- New Light on the Bible and the Holy Land.** By Basil T. Evetts, M.A. 8vo, pp. 496. London: Cassell & Co. (Illustrated.) 21s.
- The Annotated Shakespeare,** for Colleges and Schools. The Tempest. By Rev. D. Bain, M.A. 8vo, pp. 187. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.
- Historic Towns: York.** By James Raine, M.A. 8vo, pp. 221. London: Longmans, Green & Co.
- Le Maréchal Ney.** Par Henri Welschinger. Large 8vo, pp. 428. Paris: Plon, Nourrit & Cie.
- William George Ward and the Catholic Revival** By Wilfrid Ward. 8vo, pp. xlv+468. London: Longmans.
- Rome et Ses Monuments.** Par l'Abbé Jean Roger. Two vols. 8vo, pp. 539-154. Louvain: Ch. Fonteyn. Paris: Hachette.
- Histoire du R. P. Clorivière, S.J.** Par le P. Jacques Terrien, S.J. 8vo, pp. 614. Paris: Ch. Poussielgue.
- Le Mystère de N. S. Jésus Christ.** Par le R. P. J. Corne. Two vols. 8vo, pp. 436-458. Paris: Delhomme et Briguët.
- La Vierge Marie. Histoire de la Mère de Dieu.** Par Mgr. Ricard. Large 8vo, pp. 300. Paris: Firmin Didot & Cie. (Illustrated.)

- Les Tonga et le R. P. Joseph Chevron.** Par le P. A. Monfat. 8vo, pp. 470. Lyon: Emanuel Vitte.
- Meditations: A l'usage des élèves des G. Séminaires et des prêtres.** Par L. Branchereau. Four vols, 8vo, pp. 530, 544, 478, 530. Paris: Vic et Amat.
- Introduction à la Vie Spirituelle.** Par le R. P. Jacques Masénius, trad. par l'Abbé Z. C. Jourdain. 8vo, pp. 918. Paris: Hte. Walzer.
- The Child Countess.** By Mrs. W. Maude. 8vo, pp. 304. London R. Washbourne.
- Die Willensfreiheit und ihre Gegner.** Dr. Constantin Gutberlet. 8vo, pp. 270. Fulda.
- Cicero de Oratore.** Translated by E. N. P. Moor, M.A. 8vo, pp. 108. London: Methuen & Co. 3s. 6d.
- Profit Sharing and the Labour Question.** By T. W. Bushill. 8vo, pp. 258. London: Methuen & Co. 2s. 6d.
- Story of the Nations: Poland.** By W. R. Morfill. 8vo, pp. 385. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 5s.
- Words of Wisdom from the Scriptures.** Edited by Rev. John J. Bell. 8vo, pp. 202. New York: Benziger Bros.; London: Burns & Oates.
- The Marriage Process in the United States.** By Rev. S. B. Smith, D.D. 8vo, pp. 435. New York: Benziger Bros.; London: Burns & Oates.
- Mes Souvenirs sur Napoléon.** Par le Cte. Chaptal. Large 8vo, pp. 409. Paris: Plon, Nourrit & Cie.
- Primitive Saints and the See of Rome.** By Rev. W. Puller. 8vo, pp. 428. London: Longmans.
- Précis Historique de l'Affaire du Panama.** Par Aug. Lucas. 8vo, pp. 250. Paris: Delhomme et Brigueat.
- Histoire de la vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation d'après Dom Claude Martin.** Par l'Abbé L. Chapot. Two vols. 8vo, pp. 450-473. Paris: Ch. Poussielgue.
- Manuel théorique et pratique d'Horticulture.** Par un Religieux Jardinier. 8vo, pp. 701. Paris: Téqui.
- Les Apologistes Laïques au XIX^{me} Siècle.** Par l'Abbé Duplessy. Large 8vo, pp. 572. Paris: Delhomme et Brigueat.
- Les Miracles de N. S. Jésus Christ.** Par l'Abbé Candellier. 8vo, pp. 489. Paris: Téqui.

- Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Compendium.** L. Berti. Nova editio.
Two vols. 8vo, pp. 389-378. Turin : Marietti.
- Vie de Sainte Claire de la Croix.** Par Lorenzo Tardi. Nouvelle
édition. 8vo, pp. 279. Paris : Téqui.
- Le Pape, les Catholiques, et la Question Sociale.** Par Léon
Gregoire. 8vo, pp. 264. Paris : Perrin & Cie.
- L'Argument de Saint Anselme.** Par le R. P. Ragey. 8vo,
pp. 202. Paris : Delhomme et Briguet.
- Le Compte Joseph de Maistre et Sa Famille.** Par M. de
l'Escure. 8vo, pp. 442. Paris : H. Chapelliez & Cie.

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